Parshvanath Vidyashram Series
: 21 :

Editors :
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A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE NIŚĪTHA CŪRṆI

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Published by
Sohanlal Jaindharma Pracharak Samiti
AMRITSAR (**India**)

Available at
P. V. RESEARCH INSTITUTE
VARANASI - 5 (India)

Published by :
Sohanlal Jaindharma Pracharak Samiti
AMRITSAR

Available at .
P. V RESEARCH INSTITUTE
VARANASI - 5

1975

Price .
Rs 60-00

Printed by ·
Educational Printers
Gola Dinanath
V A R A N A S I - 1

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present volume represents a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Banaras Hindu University in 1969. The authoress, Dr. Mrs Madhu Sen, was a Gyanoday Trust Research Scholar in the Parshvanath Vidyashram Research Institute, Varanasi The scholarship was provided by the Trust in Ahmedabad founded by Pt. Sukhlalji, who has been guiding from the very beginning the activities of the Institute.

The P V Research Institute is a Jain Research Centre recognised by the Banaras Hindu University It is the first and the only Jain Institute of its kind. It was founded and is being run by the Sohanlal Jaindharma Pracharak Samiti, Amritsar It has been continuously rendering valuable services to Jainological Studies for the last thirty-eight years Under its patronage, many scholars have worked for the Ph.D. and D. Litt. degrees. At present, six Research Scholars are preparing theses for Ph D Every Research Scholar is given a scholarship of Rs 250/- p m for a period of two years There is also a provision for studentships of Rs. 50/- p.m. each to the M.A Students who have taken Jainism as their special group. The Institute has brought out twenty-one books by now It has undertaken the publication of a 'Comprehensive History of Jain Literature' in ten volumes covering 5000 pages A monthly journal of Jainology entitled 'Shramana' is being regularly published by it for the last twenty-seven years.

The publication of this valuable work is associated with the memory of Lala Rattan Chand Jain of Amritsar, who was the leading light of the Samiti which was established in 1935. He was an inspiration to his friends His enthusiasm was catching. He was an admirer of Acharya Shiromani Pujya Sohanlalji for

PREFACE

A historical gap exists between the period after the reign of Harsa and the advent of the Muslims. It suffers from the lack of chronological records which obscures the effort to depict the cultural life. The discovery of *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, an encyclopaedic work of the early medieval period, gives adequate opportunities to deduce inferences of the cultural life of the people against a definite chronological background

Though composed in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., the work existed in its manuscript form till 1960 when it was published for the first time from Āgama Pratiṣṭhāna, Sanmati Jñāna Pīṭha, Agra by the invaluable efforts of Upadhyay Shri Amar Muni and Muni Shri Kanhaiya Lal 'Kamal'. However, a cyclostyled copy was brought out prior to this publication by Ācārya Vijayaprema Sūri and Pt. Śrī Jambūvijaya Gaṇi, which was made available in a few Jain Bhaṇḍāras and for the personal perusal of Jain Munis. Dr. Jain in his thesis *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons* had for the first time drawn the attention of the scholars towards the invaluable contents of the text by quoting certain references from the Mss of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*. This largely hastened the demand towards the publication of the text A short introduction to *Niśītha* was written by Pt. Dalsukh Malvania in March 1959, which is added to the present edition of the text An article has also been published by Pt. Kalyāṇavijaya Gaṇi, which mainly deals with the contents and authorship of the *Niśītha* The vast cultural material which thus remained virgin has been endeavoured to be taken up in the present work by a comprehensive study of the various aspects of the cultural life as depicted in the NC. The importance of this cultural information lies in the fact that it has been culled out extensively from a monastic soure—from a text which basically intends to lay down the rules for the mode of

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his great qualities of head and heart. His approach to problems was fearless, and he was undaunted by difficulties that came in his way.

When he suddenly passed away in 1943 by heart failure, so soon after the beginning of the Samiti's work in Varanasi, the loss was difficult to bear We had already suffered in the death in 1940 of Shatavadhani Ratna Chandraji, who was a pillar of strength and a source of inspiration

Lala Rattan Chand was always in the forefront of the social movement of the S.S Jain Sabha, Punjab, and followed its decisions When he died, his friends and admirers along with his sons raised a memorial fund to him in the Samiti From its income the Samiti has been awarding research scholarships

Lala Rattan Chand has left an everlasting inspiration with his succeeding workers of whom one of the foremost is his son, Shri Shadi Lal Jain, J.P. and former Sheriff of Bombay His brother, sons and nephews are equally believers in the need for research in Jainology.

The publishers thank Dr. Mohan Lal Mehta, the Director of the P. V Research Institute, and Shri Harihar Singh, the Research Assistant, for their labour of love in editing this book

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30th December, 1975

Harjas Rai Jain
Hony. Secretary

conduct of the Jaina monks The classical Sanskrit texts deal mainly with the highest strata of society and its lofty idealism. In contrary, the NC gives a realistic representation of the culture and the day to day life of the Indians of that age.

The aim of the present work is to critically study the text in all spheres of cultural perspective Being a commentary on an ancient text it may be submitted here that much of the cultural material belongs to a former age and has filtered down to our author in the form of tradition. Thus, the material available can be classified into two groups—ancient and contemporary. The former is revealed by historical, semi-historical and legendary stories, illustrations and injunctions which specifically belong to their respective period, while the latter is the original contribution of the author which is of more importance from the cultural point of view. All possible efforts have been made to supplement and corroborate this information with the other available contemporary sources so as to give a comprehensive picture of the cultural life of the period.

The subject-matter has been treated in eight chapters—initiating with Introduction with a view to introduce the author, the contents, the place and time of its origin Continuing in the next chapter the work deals with Polity and Administration and startlingly reveals a disturbed state of political administration in spite of well-developed political ideologies The third and the fourth chapters comprise Social Life and Material Culture in which the structure of society, family and marriage, customs and beliefs, food habits, dress and articles of toilets and the pastimes have been studied The Jaina attitude towards the women has been kept in view specifically while discussing the social status of the women. It can be fairly well deduced from the study of these chapters that a sense of materialistic concept had entered the minds of the people making it essential for the individuals to be conscious of their status in society.

Economic Life and Fine Arts also contribute to strengthen the significance of material prosperity, i.e. economic prosperity.

Here a comparative study has been done with a view to analyse the status of various people in society. 'Fine Arts' depicts the development in the fields of architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama, and shows the artistic bent of mind that had developed with the predominant sense of having a luxurious living.

Education and Religious-life form the two concluding chapters. A study of various systems and schools of education, particularly the Jaina system of education, has been attempted in the former one. The concluding chapter on Religion records the activities of the various religions, i.e. Jainism, Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism etc. which flourished side by side and also shows the impact of religion on the social life as a whole

To complete this cultural account a list of various diseases and another of geographical names mentioned in the NC. along with their identification with the modern place-names have been appended at the end. I hope that this cultural study of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* will further attract the attention of the scholars towards the vast unexplored cultural material lying in obscurity amongst the various unpublished or recently published Jaina texts.

The present work is a revised version of the original work submitted in the form of a thesis for my Ph D degree in the year 1968 under the guidance of Dr A.K. Narain, the then Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University Professor A K. Narain primarily suggested me the subject and took great pains to guide and encourage me during research. I owe a great deal to him for the successful completion of the work. I am indebted to Dr. M L. Mehta, Director, P V. Research Institute, Varanasi, who immensely helped me in understanding the language of the Jaina Prakrit texts and readily helped me whenever I was in doubt. I am deeply under obligation to Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, Director, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, who painstakingly went through

the entire thesis in a very short time available at his disposal before leaving for Canada. I am grateful to Pt. Sukhlalji (Ahmedabad) and Pt Bechardasji (Ahmedabad) for explaining me certain doubtful portions of the text. I am also thankful to Dr. Lallanji Gopal, the then Reader, Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, B. H U and Sri J. N. Tiwari, Lecturer, A I. H C & Archaeology, B. H U. for giving me certain valuable suggestions on the subject.

I am under deep obligation to Late Muni Shri Punyavijayaji for providing me with his corrected press-copy of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* which I have freely utilized wherever the text of the present edition of the NC. appeared to be corrupt I am also grateful to Dr. J.C Sikdar (Ahmedabad) for sending me the English version of Dr. Schubring's comment on *Niśītha.*

I acknowledge my indebtedness to the P V Research Institute for the Research Fellowship received by me from the Institute for a period of two years and for publishing the work in the present form. My sincere thanks are also due to the members of the Institute for providing me with library and other facilities.

Madhu Sen

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Ācā. Cū	Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi.
Anu Cū.	Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi
AS.	Arthaśāstra.
Āv. Cū.	Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi.
Bṛh. Bhā.	Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya.
Bṛh Vr.	Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya-Vṛtti.
CAGI.	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
CII.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
EC.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
GD	Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India.
GEB	Geography of Early Buddhism.
IA. or Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
JBORS.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JISOA.	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.
JOIB.	Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda.
JRAS.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JUB.	Journal of the University of Bombay.
LAI.	Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons.
Manu.	Manusmṛti.
MDJG.	Māṇakacanda-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā.

N. Bhā.	Niśītha Bhāṣya.
NC.	Niśītha Cūrṇi.
Nītivā.	Nītivākyāmṛta.
NS	Niśītha Sūtra.
POV.	Paumacariya of Vimalasūri.
Raghu.	Raghuvamśa.
Rāya	Rāyapaseṇiya.
SED	Sanskrit English Dictionary.
Uttara Cū	Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi.
Uttara Ṭī	Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā.
Vya. Bhā	Vyavahāra Bhāṣya.

CONTENTS

A
CULTURAL STUDY OF THE
NIŚĪTHA CŪRṆI

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Niśītha Sūtra and its Commentaries (Niryukti, Bhāṣya and Cūrṇi)

The *Niśītha Sūtra* (*Nisīha Sutta*)[1] is unanimously supposed to be one of the most valuable *Cheda Sūtras* of the Jaina canon. It not only deals with rules of the ethical life of monks but also prescribes atonements and expiations in the form of punishments for violating these rules Initially the *Niśītha Sūtra* formed the fifth part (*Cūlā*) of the latter half of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (*Āyāraṁga Sutta*)[2] and was known as *Ācāra-*

1 Different views have been held regarding the authorship of the *Niśītha Sūtra* According to the NC (1, p 4), it was the composition of a Ganadhara, while according to Śīlāṅka (Commentary on *Ācārāṅga Niryukti*, verse 287), it was composed by a Sthavira The *Pañcakalpa Bhāṣya Cūrṇi* shows Bhadrabāhu as the author of the *Niśītha Sūtra* (See—Malvania, D D , *Niśītha—Eka Adhyayana*, pp 18-20) The three Prakrit verses concluding the NC. reveal Viśākhācārya (Visāha Gani) to be the author of the *Niśītha Sūtra*, and this view has been accepted by the editor of the NC According to Kalyānavijaya Gani, these verses have been later interpolated and were not existing in any of the ancient MSS of the NC Considering various factors he regards Ārya Raksit , the last Śrutadhara, as the author of the *Niśītha Sūtra* (Pt Kalyānavijaya Gani, *Prabandha Pārijāta*, pp 6-15).

2 *Āyāra*, the first *Aṅga* , is divided into two *Suyakkhaṁdhas*. The first which formerly had 9 *ajjhayaṇas* known as *Baṁbhacera* has at present only 8 The second *Suyakkhaṁdha* now consists of 4 Cūlās, viz. *Piṁdesaṇādi*, *Sattikkag* , *Bhāvaṇā* and *Vimutti*, initially it had one more, i e. Nisīha (NC. 1, p 2, see also Kapadia, H R., *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 75).

prakalpa (*Āyārapakappa*).[1] In the preludial verses the author of the NC. clearly indicates that having dealt with the *Vimutti Cūlā* (the fourth *Cūlā* of *Āyāra*) he subsequently explains the *Nisīha Cūlā* [2] This last Cūlā, i. e. *Niśītha*, marked the culmination of the whole Jaina *Ācāra* as it not only prescribed expiations for transgressing the monastic rules, but also laid down exceptions to the general rules (*avavāda*) which could be resorted to by the versed (*gīyattha*) monks in case of exceptional or unusual circumstances.[3] Due to the complexity of its contents the *Niśītha Sūtra* soon acquired an independent status and a considerable intellectual and moral standard in respect of students was deemed necessary for being imparted with the contents of this text. The study of *Ācāra* along with its first four *Cūlās* could commence any time after the initiation, but the *Niśītha Cūlā* being profound and abstruse in its contents, was to be divulged only to a few versed (*gīyattha*, *pariṇāmaga*) monks after a minimum period of three years of initiation to the monkhood.[4] The nuns were completely debarred from studying *Niśītha*, a *Sūtra* work. However, they were allowed to study *Ācāra*.[5] This restriction regarding the study of *Niśītha* must have been the main cause of its exclusion from the rest of the *Ācāra*. It was later incorporated into the section of the canon known as *Cheda Sūtra*.[6] This was perhaps because of the similarity of its contents with

1. पंचमी चूला आयारपकप्पो, NC. I, p. 3.
2. भणिया विमुत्तिचूला, अहुणावसरो णिसीहचूलाए-NC. 1, p 1.
3 NC 1, p 3.
4. Ibid
5 Kapadia, op cit , p 117, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, pp 45-46
6. The NC mentions *Chedasuya* as '*uttamasutta*' (NC 4, p 253) According to Kapadia such a class of works which can be taught to the *pariṇata* pupils only is designated as *Cheda Sūtra* (Kapadia, op cit , p 36) According to another definition, *Chedi* means cut and consequently *Cheda Sūtra* may be construed as a treatise which prescribes cuts in seniority (*dīkṣā-paryāya*) in the case of Jaina clergy on their violating any rules of their order (Ibid) The *Cheda Sūtras* are six in number, viz *Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kalpa* and *Pañcakalpa* or *Jītakalpa*.

the other *Cheda Sūtras*, viz. the *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*.[1]

Though the expiatory rules were primarily laid down in the *Niśītha Sūtra*, yet the *Sūtra* being a condensed version could not serve as a practical hand-book for the various difficulties which confronted the monks in their daily life and behaviour. To overcome this difficulty two versified commentaries, namely the *Niryukti* (*Nijjutti*) and the *Bhāṣya* (*Bhāsa*), were written in the Prakrit language. This can be judged from the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* which refers to some of the verses particularly as *Nijjuttigāhās*[2] and assigns their authorship to Bhadrabāhu, the famous author of many well-known *Niryuktis*.[3] The *Bhāṣya* of *Niśītha*[4] has now practically superseded the *Niryukti*

1 The *Cheda Sūtras* like *Daśā*, *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra* as well as the *Niśītha* originated from the *Pratyākhyāna Pūrva*, hence the similarity in their contents (*Malvania*, op cit, p. 16). According to Winternitz, Niśītha is a later work than the *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*, and it has embodied the major portion of *Vyavahāra* in its last sections Probably b th these works originated in one and the same earlier source —Winternitz M, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p. 464

2 For a list of these *Niryuktigāthās* (*Nijjuttigāhās*) see—Malvania, op cit, p 27

3 Ācārya Bhadrabāhu (II) is generally regarded as the author of the ten *Niryuktis* like *Ācārāṅga Niryukti* etc He was different from Bhadrabāhu I and he flourished in the 6th century of the Vikrama era (See—Muni Punyavijaya's introduction to the *Bṛhatkalpa*, Vol. VI, pp. 18-20, Malvania, op cit., p 26). According to Kalyānavijaya, however, the existence of Bhadrabāhu II cannot be proved from the historical sources. In his view Muni Ārya Rakṣita, the last Śrutadhara, may be considered as the author of the 10 Niryuktis including the Niryukti on Niśītha (*Prabandha Pāryālā*, p. 21).

4. Many of the Niryukti-gāthās on *Niśītha* have been explained by Siddhasenācārya or Siddhasena Kṣamāśramana. On this basis he has been regarded by the scholars to be the author of the *Niśītha Bhāṣya* (See—Malvania, op cit., pp. 40-43). According to Malvania, this Siddhasenācārya was different from Siddhasena Divākara, the author of the *Sanmati Tarka*, and may be identified with Siddhasena as the pupil of Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa and the author of the *Jītakalpa Cūrṇi* (Ibid, p. 44). According to Kalyānavijaya, though the name of Siddhasena frequently occurs in the NC, yet nowhere he has been

commentary, and it is well-nigh impossible to differentiate the *Niryukti* verses from the verses of the *Bhāṣya*.

The *Bhāṣya* of *Niśītha* is quite prolific in its contents. Prescribing the various rules, punishments and exceptions to the general rules regarding the religious life of the monks, it also refers to various social, religious, historical and legendary stories and illustrations which have been explained later in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*. Being in the form of a versified commentary, the *Bhāṣya* revealed the contents in point-form, the detail exposition of which was left to the interpretation of the reader alone. To ensure the stability of the Church and popularity of the faith in gradually changing social and religious circumstances, further exposition of the ethical and religious tenets became practically essential. Therefore, a vast prose-commentary exposing the two versified commentaries, i.e. *Niryukti* and *Bhāṣya*, and the original text of the *Niśītha Sūtra*, was written by Jinadāsa Gani Mahattara during the latter half of the 7th century A. D. (8th century of the Vikrama era). It forms the basis of our present work.

Cūrṇi Literature and the Niśītha Cūrṇi

The *Cūrṇis* belong to a period of transition. Because of their exhaustive and scrupulous treatment meted out to the subject matter, they are the most valuable amongst the extensive exegetical literature on Jaina canonical texts. The various stages of the gradual development of the Jaina religion (Church) in its social, moral and cultural background can easily be visualized from the study of the *Cūrṇi* literature. Stylistically, the *Cūrṇis* are prose-commentaries written in an intermixture of the Prakrit and Sanskrit languages and reveal that

stated to be the author of the *Niśītha Bhāṣya*. In his view Siddhasena could be the author of the *Sāmānya Cūrṇi* on *Niśītha* which was written prior to the *Viśeṣa Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa and may be identified with Siddhasena, the author of the *Jītakalpa Cūrṇi*. He, therefore, could not have lived later than the second half of the 7th century of the Vikrama era (*Prabandha Pārijāta*, p 6). According to Muni Punyavijaya, however, Sanghadāsa Gani, the author of the *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra Bhāṣyas* should be the author of the *Niśītha Bhāṣya*.

important phase when Prakrit was being gradually replaced by the Sanskrit language among the Jaina literati. As many as twenty *Cūrṇis* were written during a period extending from the 4th to the 8th century of the Vikrama era.[1] Unfortunately, many of these are still in the form of Mss. and the names of the authors are unknown. Of these *Cūrṇis*, the following eight—(i) *Niśītha Cūrṇi* (*Niśītha Viśeṣa Cūrṇi*), (ii) *Nandi Cūrṇi*, (iii) *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*, (iv) *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, (v) *Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi*, (vi) *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, (vii) *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi* and (viii) *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Cūrṇi*—have been traditionally ascribed to our author Jinadāsa Gaṇi,[2] which itself is a stupendous testimony to vast contribution in the field of the *Cūrṇi* literature.

The chronological sequence of the works of Jinadāsa can be arranged on the basis of references that can be traced in the *Cūrṇis* composed by him. According to Ānandasāgara Sūri, following is the sequence of the works of Jinadāsa—(i) *Nandi Cūrṇi*, (ii) *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*, (iii) *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, (iv) *Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi*, (v) *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, (vi) *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*, (vii) *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Cūrṇi* and (viii) *Vyākhyāprajñapti Cūrṇi*.[3] A reference to *Nandi Cūrṇi* can be traced in the *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*,[4] which shows the former to be an earlier work. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* has been referred to in the *Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi*,[5] while the latter itself has been mentioned in the *Cūrṇis* of *Uttarādhyayana*[6] and *Niśītha*[7]. The *Niśītha Cūrṇi* has not been

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1 The *Cūrṇis* were written on the following *Āgamas*—*Ācārāṅga*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, *Vyākhyā-prajñapti* (*Bhagavatī*), *Jīvābhigama*, *Niśītha*, *Mahāniśītha*, *Vyavahāra*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Pañcakalpa*, *Oghaniryukti*, *Jītakalpa*, *Uttarādhyayana*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Nandi*, *Anuyogadvāra* and *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti*.—Mehta, M L, *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, Vol. 3, p 289; Kapadia, op cit, p 190

2. Mehta, op cit, p 291, also Mehta's article—Cūrṇiyāṁ aura Cūrṇikāra—published in *Śramaṇa* (monthly), 1955, No. 10, p. 18

3. See 'Arhat Āgamonī Cūrṇio ane tenuṁ Mudraṇa'—article published in *Siddhacakra*, ix, No. 8, p. 165, vide Mehta, op cit., p 291.

4. *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*, pp. 1-2.

5. *Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi*, p. 71.

6. *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, p 274.

7 NC. 2, p 363, NC 4, p. 157.

separately mentioned as it must have been originally a part of the *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*. As the *Niśītha Sūtra* was later separated from the rest of the *Ācāra*, its *Cūrṇi* also came to be regarded as an independent work[1]. It is however clear that *Niśītha* being the last *Cūlā* of the *Ācāra*, its commentary was written after the *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi* was composed. Keeping in view Ānandasāgara Sūri's statement it may be argued that the *Cūrṇis* of *Nandi*, *Anuyoga*, *Āvaśyaka*, *Daśavaikālika*, *Uttarādhyayana* and *Ācārāṅga* were already written when the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* was composed. The *Niśītha Cūrṇi* is thus a product of the experienced and matured judgement of the author which was necessarily required for commenting upon such an abstruse text.

The author of the NC. has nomenclatured his work as *Niśītha Viśeṣa Cūrṇi*[2]. This is further augmented by the fact that the word *Viseṣa* (*Viśeṣa*) is mentioned at the conclusion of all the *uddeśakas* of the NC.[3] Mention of the word *viseṣa* (*viśeṣa*) has led some scholars to believe that formerly there had been two *Cūrṇis* on *Niśītha*. To differentiate the two this latter commentary was termed as *Viśeṣa Cūrṇi*.[4] This conjecture seems quite valid as in the beginning of the NC. the author has also remarked, "Although expounded by earlier scholars I have dealt with it in particular."[5] However, no traces of any other *Cūrṇi* are to be found at present, and the *Viśeṣa Cūrṇi* written by Jinadāsa Gaṇi is the only available *Cūrṇi* on *Niśītha*.

Jinadāsa Gaṇi : the Author of the NC.

The versatile genius of Jinadāsa Gaṇi, his profound knowledge of the religious as well as social values and his deep study of human nature may be easily visualized from the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* as well as his other works. Unfortunately,

1. See—Malvania, op cit, p 19
2. तेण कएसा चुण्णी, विसेसनामा निमीहस्स--NC. 4, p. 411.
3. *Visesa Nisiha Cunni* in *uddeśakas* 1-8, 10, 12-15, and *Nisiha Visesa Cunni* in *uddeśakas* 9, 11 and 16
4. Kapadia, op cit, p 190, Kalyānavijaya, op cit, p 3, Mehta, op cit, p 289
5. पुव्वायरियकय चिय, अह पि त चेव उ विसेसा--NC 1, p 1

very little is known about his personal life. Our knowledge in this respect is solely based on the meagre references given by him in some of his works. The 20th *uddeśaka* of the NC. reveals the name of the author as Jinadāsa, whereas *Gaṇi* and *Mahattara* are mentioned as two epithets bestowed upon him by his able preceptor.[1] At the end of the *Nandi Cūrṇi* the author has mentioned his name in a very queer way. The verse mentioned there runs as *Nireṇaṇagattamahāsadājinā*,[2] which with a proper emendation may be read as *Jiṇadāsagaṇiṇāmahattareṇa*' and provides a link towards the identity of its author. According to the *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, another work ascribed to Jinadāsa, he was the disciple of Govāliya Mahattara or Gopāla Gaṇi Mahattara of Vāṇija Kula, Koḍiya Gaṇa and Vayara Śākhā.[4] The name of the father[5] and the mother[6] of the author has been vaguely mentioned in the 13th and 15th *uddeśakas* of the NC. Thus, it is difficult to discern the actual names of his parents. In view of Pt. Kalyānavijaya Gaṇi these verses reveal his father's name as Candra and mother's name as Viradhāvā, both the names being quite popular in the Marubhūmi from ancient times.[7] Two verses at the end of the 16th *uddeśaka* of the NC. mention the names of his other six brothers and indicate that he was the fourth amongst the seven brothers.[8] As an instance of extreme

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1. ति चउ पण अटठमवग्गे, ति पणग ति तिग अक्खरा व ते तेसिं ।
   पढमततिएहि तिदुसरजुएहि णाम कय जस्स ॥
   गुरुदिण्ण च गणित्त, महत्तरत्तं च तस्स तुट्ठेहि ।—NC 4, p. 411.
2. *Nandi Cūrṇi* (Prakrit Text Society), p. 83.
3. See—*Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina Manuscripts*, Vol. XVII, Part III, Preface p XXV
4 *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi*, p. 283.
5 सकरजडमउडविभूसणस्स तण्णामसरिसणामस्स ।
   तस्स सुतेणेस कता, विसेसचुण्णी णिसीहस्स ॥—NC. 3, p. 426.
6 रविकरमभिधाणऽक्खरसत्तमवग्गतअक्खरजुएणं ।
   णाम जस्सित्थीए, सुतेण तस्से कया चुण्णी ॥—NC. 3, p. 594.
7 Kalyānavijaya Gaṇi, op cit , p 30.
8. देहडो सीह थोरा य, ततो जेट्ठा सहोयरा । कणिट्ठा देउलो णण्णो, सत्तमो य तिइज्जगो ।
   एतेसिं मज्झिमो जो उ, मदे वी तेण वित्तिता ।—NC. 4, p. 163.

humility the author here mentions himself as a person with inferior intellect (*manda*).[1] The opening verses of the NC. mention Pradyumna Kṣamāśramana as the religious preceptor (*atthadāi*)[2] of the author. The identity of Pradyumna Kṣamāśramana is a matter of dispute. However, as Pt Malvania has observed, "he was definitely different from the Guru Pradyumna of the commentator Abhayadeva, as there is a lot of difference between the periods of the two".[3] According to Pt. Kalyānavijaya Gani, he may be identified with Pradyumna Sūri, the disciple of Yaśodeva Sūri and the preceptor of Vararuci (the commentator of the famous astrological treatise *Pākaśrī*) who flourished in a contemporary period.[4] Nothing more at present can be said about the personal life of Jinadāsa Gani.

Date of Jinadāsa Gaṇi

Jinadāsa Gani must have flourished during the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. Several old Mss. of the *Nandi Cūrni* mention the date of its composition as Śaka Samvat 598[5], i. e. Vikrama Samvat 733, or A. D. 676. The text edited by Ānandasāgara Sūri gives the date as Śaka Samvat 500. Both these dates have been questioned by the editor in his preface to the *Nandi Cūrṇi* without giving any specific reasons. It appears that the editor observes so, as this date upsets his belief to the effect that Haribhadra Sūri died in Vīra Samvat 1055.[6] Evidences prove that Jinadāsa Gani flourished during this period. He must have flourished some time after Ācārya Jinabhadra, the famous author of many *Bhāṣyas*, as many of the latter's verses (*gāhās*) have been quoted by Jinadāsa

1 A different version of this verse has been given by Pt Kalyānavijaya Gani. There appears to be some difference in the original text of the NC —*Prabandha Pārijāta*, p. 30

2. सविसेसायरजुत्ता, काउ पणामं च अत्थदायिस्म ।
पज्जुण्णखमासमणस्स, चरण-करणाणुपालस्म ।—NC. 1, p. 1.

3 Malvania, op. cit., p. 47

4 Kalyānavijaya Gani, op cit , p 4

5 *Nandi Cūrni*, p 83, Kapadia, op cit , p 191

9 Kapadia, op. cit , p 191

Gani in his commentaries. On the other hand, he should be anterior to Ācārya Haribhadra who quotes at length from the *Cūrṇis* of Jinadāsa in the *Vṛtti* on *Āvaśyaka*.[1] The period assigned to Ācārya Jinabhadra is somewhere between Vikrama Samvat 600-660,[2] while Ācārya Haribhadra flourished in Vikrama Samvat 757 to 827[3] Deductions from these lead us to believe that Jinadāsa Gani must have flourished sometime between Vikrama Samvat 650-750. The date prescribed in many of the old Mss. of the *Nandi Cūrṇi*, as noted above, is Vikrama Samvat 733, i.e. Śaka 598, or A. D. 676. The *Jaisalamera Bhaṇḍāra Sūcī* mentions the date of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* as Vikrama Samvat 733.[4] Besides, Jinadāsa in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* refers to the coins of Varmalāta (*Vammalāta*) which were used in Bhillamāla (Bhinmal) during his time.[5] An inscription of king Varmalāta belonging to the last quarter of the 7th century of the Vikrama era has been recently found near Vasantagaḍha.[6] Jinadāsa Gani, therefore, should have belonged to a period when the coins issued by king Varmalāta were in circulation. Thus, keeping in view these various evidences it may be safely concluded that Jinadāsa Gani flourished during the last quarter of the 7th century A. D.

Geographical background of the NC.

It is perhaps more difficult to ascertain the place from where Jinadāsa Gani hailed. In the context of *Kṣetrasaṁstava* in the NC. the author has mentioned the name of Kuruksetra[7] instead of any other region. Pt. Malvania thus in his intro-

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1 विक्रमसवत् ७३३ वर्षे रचिताया निशीथचूर्ण्या अवतरणानि हरिभद्रसूरी आवश्यकवृत्तौ दृश्यंते—*Jaisalamera Bhaṇḍāra Sūcī*, *Baroda*, also *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka* (Ahmedabad), I 1, p 50

2 *Gaṇadharavāda*, Preface pp 32-33, Mehta, op cit, p 291

3 *Jaina Āgama*, p 29, also Mehta, loc cit

4 See above note 1

5 In the present edition of the NC the text runs as जहा भिल्लमाले चम्मलातो—NC 2, p. 95. But according to Pt Kalyānavijaya, the text found in the other Mss. of the NC is जहा भिल्लमाले वम्मलातो which seems to be more authentic —*Prabandha Pārijāta*, pp. 18-19

6 Ibid

7 NC 2, pp 108, 110

duction to *Niśītha* has deduced Kurukṣetra to be the native place of the author.[1] But seeing the formation of the sentence and the context in which it has been cited, the inference does not seem to be logical. On the other hand, the editor of the NC. feels that the commentator (the author of the NC.) must have belonged to the Lāta country. While describing the four Great-festivals of the time the author remarks, "Here in the Lāta country the Indra-maha is celebrated on the full moon day of Śrāvana"[2] Mention of the word 'Here' *(iha)* shows that the author was writing his commentary in the Lāṭa country.[3] This reference gives a more plausible ground for discerning the place of Jinadāsa Gaṇi. The internal evidence, the cultural background and atmosphere depicted in the NC, seems to be more suitable to this part of the country. In the second *uddeśaka* of the NC., while explaining the nature of Adattādāna which enjoins upon the monks non-acceptance of even the smallest article which has not been given by others, the author explains *ikkadā* as a type of grass which is common in the Lāta country.[4] A few lines later, the author, writing in the same text, allows the monks to take the grasses like *ikkaḍā* if confronted by unusual circumstances, viz. while reaching the village at unusual time when there is no one to provide the same.[5] This reference may also be taken as an indication towards the geographical background of the text. The innumerable references to the social customs of Kaccha, Saurāstra, Lāta, Mālavā, Mahārāṣtra, Dak-ināpatha, Koṅkana etc.,[6] reveal the author's deep knowledge of these regions. An analysis of the geographical place-names mentioned in the NC. further indicates that while the references from east, north or north-west like Campā, Mathurā, Vārāṇasi, Rājagṛha, Ujjayinī, Gāndhāra etc. are in the context of

1 Malvania, op cit., p 48

2. इह लाडेसु सावणपोण्णिमाए भवति इंदमहो—NC 4, p 226

3. 'इह' अनेन ज्ञायते लाटदेशीयोऽयं चूर्णिकार इति—NC 4, p 226, note 1

4 वणस्सतिभेदो "इक्कडा" लाडाण पसिद्धा—NC 2, p 81

5 NC 2, p 82

6 NC 1, pp 51-52, 100, NC 2, pp 94, 223, NC 3, p. 39, NC 4, p 132.

the ancient stories or legends, the contemporary references are mainly forthcoming from west and south like Ānandapura, Bāravaī, Bharukaccha, Bhınamāla, Mahıssara, Komkana, Dakṣiṇāpatha etc.[1] Use of the various words typically belonging to the language of Saurāstra and Gujarat[2] indicate towards the same fact. A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* was also written in Bhṛgukaccha (Lāṭa) in V. S. 1157 during the reign of Siddharāja.[3] Seeing these evidences forthcoming from Lāṭa or Gujarat it would not be improper to assume that the NC. was written in the Lāṭa country, where it could easily be recognised as a famous work within a short period of its composition. Keeping in view that Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra and the various parts of Deccan were great strongholds of Jainism during the early medieval period, it may be safely stated that the author belonged to this region or at least the NC. was composed in this part of the country.

Analysis and Evaluation of the Contents of the NC.

Though in the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* the author has never confined himself to the miotic limits of Religion and Ethics, yet it is beyond doubt that being a commentary on a canonical text, the nucleus of the NC. lies in the exposition of the Jaina Ethics, particularly the rules of monastic life as designed for the Sthavira-kalpī Śvetāmbara Jaina monks and nuns. The name *Nisītha*[4] (night, dark = mysterious, profound) itself indicates the nature of its contents, and the later commentaries

1 See Geographical Index

2 Malvania, op cit., p 86

3 Colophon—निसीहचूण्णी समत्ता। मंगलं महाश्रीः। स. ११५७ आमाढबदि षष्ठयां शुक्रदिने श्रीजयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये श्रीभृगुकच्छनिवासिना जिनचरणाराधनतत्परेण देवप्रसादेन निशीथचूर्णि पुस्तकं लिखितमिति—Dalal and Gandhi, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhandaras at Patan*, p 203.

4 Some of the scholars like Weber believe that the interpretation of the Prakrit word *Nisīha* as *Nisītha* is an error and that it should be rendered as *Nisedha* (See—IA, Vol 21, p 97). But seeing the contents of Nisīha and the way the word has been explained in the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* it is obvious that the word can be explained as *Nisītha* only and not as *Niṣedha*.—See NC 1, pp 8-14, Malvania, op. cit., pp. 8-13

added more to its profoundness by their elaborate exposition. The object of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* is to explain and elucidate the various points mentioned in the *Sūtra*, *Niryukti* and *Bhāṣya* of *Niśītha* in which the author has undoubtedly succeeded. Each word has been derived and defined—its meaning explained in the context of Dravya, Kṣetra, Kāla and Bhāva, and further supplemented with the help of the analogies and illustrations. The original contribution of the NC. lies in its exposition of the ethical tenets in which the author gives a legal sanction to the minor changes which had to be introduced in the monastic life considering the changed social and religious circumstances. Such changes were necessarily required to make the Church-life less severe and adaptable to the monks and also to propogate the Religion amongst nobility and the common masses.

The *Niśītha Sūtra* being divided into 20 *uddeśakas* the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* is also divided under the same sections. In the beginning there is a lengthy introduction, called *Pīṭhikā*, in which the fundamentals of Jaina Religion and Ethics have been explained. Rest of the text mentions innumerable rules covering every aspect of the daily life of the monks including their mode of behaviour inside and outside the Church. A clear picture of the subject matter of the NC. can be found from the list of contents specifically mentioned in each volume. The aim of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* is to prescribe atonements and expiations by means of punishment for transgressions against the ethical rules. To reach the goal the author has explicitly explained the innumerable rules concerned with the monastic life, viz. begging, clothes, requisites, food, shelter, study, travelling, water-travel, the mode of behaviour with the monks, nuns, lay-disciples, royalty, noblemen, common masses and heretics etc. He has prescribed punishments for specific faults and also laid down exceptions to the general rules which could be resorted to by the versed monks under unusual circumstances like famine, epidemic, illness, journey or insecure political circumstances in a particular state. The scheme of classification is based upon the specific form of

punishment, i.e. the various transgressions leading to a specific punishment have been mentioned together. As such the *Niśītha Sūtra* as well as its *Cūrṇi* may be divided under three sections : *uddeśakas* 2-5 and 12-16 deal with *Ugghāiya* or mitigated punishment, *uddeśakas* 1 and 6 to 11 with *Aṇugghāiya* punishment, *uddeśaka* 20 deals with *Āropaṇā* punishment and mode of inflicting the various punishments.[1]

Though the treatment meted out to the subject-matter is exhaustive, yet it lacks a systematic form. The system of punishment being based upon a specific form of punishment led to a lot of repetition, as all the rules regarding one aspect of life could not be mentioned at a single place. The observer thus has to go through the entire encyclopaedic text in order to be acquainted with any particular aspect of life. To illustrate it further, the rules regarding food and clothing are given in almost all the *uddeśakas*, rules regarding utensils in *uddeśakas* 1, 2, 5, 11, 14 and 16; rules which restrict a monk from anointing his body in *uddeśakas* 2, 3, 6, 7, 11 and 15; rules regarding *śayyā* and *saṁstāraka* in *uddeśakas* 2 and 16 and those regarding *maithuna* have been described in the *Pīṭhikā* as well as in 1, 6 and 7 *uddeśakas* of the NC. This system must have been convenient to those who had to award these punishments. However, to the students of cultural history it appears as a medley of rules mentioned in a haphazard way without any inter-connecting links. Quite rightly Prof. Schubring has observed, "in this disorderly contents of *Niśītha* the author has drawn attention to bring an order by introducing the system of threefold expiations or punishments".[2] However, the author has indeed succeeded in his aim of prescribing punishments for the specific faults and is regarded amongst the most authoritative theologians in the history of Jainism.

Apart from its religious significance, the NC. is invaluable due to its contribution to the field of Indian culture. A study of the following pages will clearly reveal that with a popular royal support the Jaina lawgivers gradually came in

1 NC 2, pp. 67, 371, NC.3, p 315 Also see—Kapadia, op cit, pp 149-50

2 Schubring W, *Drei Chedasūtras des Jaina-Kanons—Āyāradasāo, Vavahāra, Nisīha* (1960)

direct contact with the kings and politicians which made them imbibe a practical knowledge of the science of state-craft. With the passage of time the Jaina monks were allowed to observe local customs (*lokovayāra*) which resulted in their extensive movement in order to be acquainted with the cultural traditions of the different regions. Jainism being widely popular amongst the mercantile communities of India, the Jaina lawgivers became quite conversant with the professional intricacies of trade and other occupations. Besides, in an atmosphere of conflict and rivalry when the various opposing sects were struggling hard to acquire supremacy, a fair knowledge of the religious tenets of the rival sects became practically essential in order to be able to defend one's own faith from the active onslaughts of the rivals and prove its supremacy amongst the people at large. A combined effect of these various factors may be seen in the works of Jinadāsa Gaṇi which provide a wealth of information on the various aspects of the cultural life.

The language of the NC. gives the opportunity for an independent field of investigation. We find many words which are now extinct from the popular usage or have changed their meaning. This may help the philologists in tracing the development of the Indian languages The *Cūrṇ s*, as already referred to, belong to a period of transition when Prakrit was being replaced by the Sanskrit language among the Jaina literati. Hence, even while writing commentaries in the Prakrit language, many of the words have been virtually taken from Sanskrit. Various popular Sanskrit verses have also been quoted in the text.[1] Technically, the Prakrit language of the later Jaina Śvetāmbara texts is termed as Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, as it mainly follows the rules of Mahārāṣṭrī and yet it has certain peculiarities of its own, i. e. it is influenced by Ardhamāgadhī.[2] The language of the NC. also belongs to the same group.[3] The language of the narratives in the NC. is almost

1 NC 1, pp 53, 54, 104, 127, NC 3, p 562

2 Woolner, *Introduction to Prākṛta Grammar*, p. 6, also Sheth, H T, *Pāiya Sadda Mahaṇṇava*, p 43

3 According to the author of the *Pāiya Sadda Mahaṇṇava* (p 43), even

similar to the language as found in the stories of Kālakācārya, Udāyana, Domuha[1] etc., which has been termed as Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.[2] An influence of the regional dialect can also be seen from the text.

Besides, a great many gems of ancient myths and legends have been skilfully preserved in the NC. The history of the rulers of the Mauryan dynasty from Candragupta to Samprati is revealed by means of popular legends[3], while a number of stories relating to the life of Ajja Kālaga,[4] Ajja Vairasāmī,[5] Samitāyariya,[6] Ajja Khauḍa[7] etc give a graphic description of the life and activities of various great Jaina monastic personages. The author is adept in telling the folk-tales—historical, semi-historical or sometimes purely imaginative, which reveal the general life of the people and thus prove to be an important source of cultural information. By citing the instances, illustrations and narratives of materialistic nature and giving their moral purport, the author of the NC. justifies the ancient truth that "strict adherence to the rules is the key to success in material or spiritual field" and that "circumstances dictate the necessity to formulate, change or amend the ethical rules with a view to suit the requirement to achieve the ultimate aim in life[8], i. e to be free from the bondage of the karmas and attain the final Liberation "

though composed in the later Middle-Indo-Aryan period (600-1000 A D), the language of the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* and certain other Jaina works like *Samarāiccakahā*, *Dharmasaṅgrahaṇī* etc is in conformity to the early Middle-Indo-Aryan stage of language (600 B C—200 A D).

1 See—Jacobi, *Selected Stories*, Nos V and IX, also Woolner, op cit, pp 146-151
2 Ibid
3 NC 2, pp 361, 362, NC 3, p 424, NC 4, pp 10, 129
4 NC 3, pp 58, 131
5 NC 1, pp 21, 163
6 NC 3, p 425
7 NC 1, p 22
8 NC 4, pp 34-35

CHAPTER II

POLITY AND ADMINISTRATION

The NC. is not an administrative manual like the *Nītivākyāmṛta* (a famous Jaina treatise on Polity written in 10th century A. D.) of Somadeva, yet it throws a welcome light on the various aspects of Administration and Polity The 9th *uddeśaka* of the NC specifically lays down the rules of monks' behaviour with the King and the State. References can also be found in the 2nd, 4th, 8th, 11th, 15th and 16th *uddeśakas* of the NC. This information, when collated and corroborated with contemporary sources, enables us to visualize the system of administration prevailing at that time The political concepts of our author are remarkably similar to those of Somadeva. However, certain outstanding differences can be noticed from the Brāhmanic theory of Administration.

Types of States or Forms of Government

Monarchy has prevailed as a popular form of Government in ancient India, yet other types of States are also referred to in the ancient Sanskrit and Jaina Prakrit texts In order to restrict the Jaina monks from travelling into anarchical regions the author has explained the following seven types of States in the NC .

(i) Non-ruler-States *(aṇārāya (anārājya) or arājaka)*

(ii) Yuvarāja-ruled-States *(juvarajja)*

(iii) Kingless-States *(verajja)*

(iv) States in hostility *(viruddha rajja)*

(v) Two-ruler States *(dorajja)*.[1]

(vi) Republics *(gaṇarajja)*

1 NC 3, p 198

(vii) Monarchies *(rajja)*[1]

Detailed study of the above mentioned states are as follows:

(i) *Non-ruler States*—The word *aṇarāya* *(anārājya)* when used as a technical term does not mean anarchy, as for anarchy Hindu Politics use a special term *mātsya-nyāya*.[2] Anārājya is defined often by the scholars as a type of government where "law was to be taken as a ruler and that there should be no man-ruler."[3] Mutual agreement or social contract was the basis of such States.[4] According to the NC. that State is termed as *aṇarāya* where coronation of the king and crown-prince had not taken place after the death of the former king.[5]

If this definition is analysed then as per author *aṇarāya* was only a state of monarchy, which existed during the period beginning after the death of the former king till the new ruler was coronated. It may thus be termed as a 'Non-ruler State', because in the absence of any coronated king, the people had to abide by the existing law for the proper functioning of the State. *Arājaka*[6] is another term used for *aṇarāya* in the Jaina and other classical texts The *Mahābhārata* ridicules the constitution of the *arājaka* States by saying, "when the law would not rule, the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy".[7] In the NC also the monks are advised

1 NC 1, p 133

2 AS. 1 4, Khalimpur Copper-plate (EI IV, 248), *Manusmṛti*, VII. 20, also see—Jayaswal, K P, *Hindu Polity*, p 86.

3 Jayaswal, op cit, p 86

4. Ibid.

5. मते रायाणे जाव मूलराया जुवराया य एते दो वि अणभिसित्ता ताव अणरायं भवति (NC 3, p 198) J C Jain's explanation of *anarāya* on the basis of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* that "after the death of the king if there were two heirs-apparent and none of them was so far anointed as the king" (LAI., p 198) appears to be misleading. 'Two' here refers to the king and the crown-prince and not to two heirs-apparent —NC. 3, p. 198, also *Bṛh-Vṛ* 3, p 780.

6. *Bṛh Bhā* 1, 2763, *Āyārāṁgasutta* (ed. Jacobi), II, 3. 1. 10, *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti Parva*, Ch LIX.

7. *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti Parva*, Ch LXVII, see—Jayaswal, op cit, pp 87-88.

to refrain from visiting such States because of the lack of security prevailing there

(ii) *Yuvarāja-ruled States*—*Juvarajja* or *yauvarājya* were the types of States where sovereignty of the State was vested in the hands of a crown-prince (*juvarāya*). According to the NC. that State was termed as *juvarajja*[1] where the crown-prince had not been formally coronated after the death of a king and the former had not selected an heir-apparent. The coronation ceremony formally bestowed upon a king the rights of a full sovereign.[2] Legally such a period of rule under a crown-prince would have been considered as interregnum.[3] Instances can be observed in our history when the princes ruled for years before their formal coronation. Besides, the territory bestowed upon the crown-prince as *kumāra bhukti*[4] by the sovereign ruler may also be regarded as Yuvarāja-State. Instances may be cited of prince Kunāla and Samprati who were given the charge of the city of Ujjayinī as *kumāra-bhukti*, while the emperor Aśoka ruled from the capital city of Pāṭaliputra. Government in such cases must have been in the hands of a council of regency, the sovereign being too young.[5]

(iii) *Kingless States*—The term *verajja* or *vairājya* may be rendered as the 'kingless constitution'[6] denoting a democratic type of government.[7] But, as Jayaswal has pointed out, "Hindu commentators failing to recognise the significance of the word *vairājya* (kinglessness) have fallen into the error of rendering it as shining condition".[8] Many a

1. पुव्वराइणो जो जुवराया अभिसित्तो तेण अधिट्ठिय रज्जं जाव स दोच्च जुवरायाण णाभिसिंचति ताव तं जुवरज्ज भण्णति—NC 3, p 198, cf *Bṛh Vṛ* 3, p 780
2. NC. 2, p 462
3. Jayaswal, op cit, p 82
4. NC 2, pp 361-62
5. Jayaswal, op cit, p 88
6. Ibid, p 82.
7. Altekar, A S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 77.
8. Jayaswal, op cit, p 83 The word *vairājya* can be explained as (i) without a king and (ii) a very distinguished king. In Sāyaṇa's explanation of *vairājya* as इतरेभ्यो भूपतिभ्य: श्रेष्ठं—the latter meaning

definition to this word has been given in the NC.[1] *Verajja* is explained as (i) States going on traditional hostility, (ii) or where hostility has started recently, (iii) or the State occupied by an inimical king, where the government was in a state of anarchy due to aggressions of the enemy because of which the cities and villages had been devastated, (iv) or a State where the king is deserted or forsaken by all his *īśvaras (savvesarā)*, that is the servants (*bhṛtyas*)[2], (v) or a State without a ruler to the throne because of the death or abdication of its former king. Here, various explanations given to the same word are itself indicative of the vagueness and uncertainty of the author's conception of this term. The commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, in a later period, while explaining these various definitions of *vairājya* clearly states that this word may be derived in various ways to give a suitable meaning (*iṣṭarūpaniṣpattiḥ sarvatrāpi niruktivaśāt*).[3] The author of the NC. has evidently derived the word on its etymological grounds without considering its political significance.

However, an analysis of the contents reveal that 1, 2, 3 and 5 of the above mentioned definitions explain *verajja* only as "States in mutual hostility" or "States captured by enemy" or "a kingless State because of the death or abdication of its king", and bear hardly any constitutional significance. But the 4th definition is significant from the political point of view, since it points towards the constitutional significance of the term. It is worthwhile to note that the word 'all the *īśvaras*' (*savvesarā*) is specifically explained as 'the servants' (*bhṛtya-ityarthaḥ*)[4] which infers that they must have been

preponderates. Shamasastry takes *vairājya* to mean 'foreign rule' which comes into existence by seizing the country from its king still alive.—*Arthaśāstra*, Tr p 395, see also—Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 82-83; Altekar, op cit , p 77.

1. NC 3, pp 197-98
2. जस्स राइणो रज्जे सव्वेसरा विरज्जंति—भृत्या इत्यर्थः, तं रज्जं रज्जेणं विरत्तं भण्णति, एतं वेरज्जं—NC 3, p. 197.
3. *Bṛh Vṛ*. 3, p 779.
4. See above note 2.

representatives of the people. This definition of *verajja* mentioned in the NC. virtually corroborates the account of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where it is stated, "in this type of government the whole country or nation (*janapadāḥ*) took to consecration of rulership."[1] However, it appears that, because of their democratic set-up, such States often became the centres of struggle, conflict and confusion. Kauṭilya also observes, "no body feels in a *vairājya* government the feeling of mine (with regard to the State), the aim of political organism is rejected, any one can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or one becoming indifferent leaves the State."[2] In the NC. *verajja* is counted among the anarchical regions, where a monk is categorically restricted to move without any specific reasons,[3] and if needed it was to be done after taking proper permission or letter of authority (*muddāpatta*) from the senior administrative authorities[4] However, as seen above, it can be supposed that the word *verajja* was originally meant to denote a perfect democratic type of government, but this meaning was distorted in later centuries because of the continuous insecure and anarchical conditions in such States

(iv) *States in Hostility*--The term *viruddha-rajja* has been mentioned in a multifarious way in the NC — sometimes with *verajja*[5] and sometimes independently[6] Jayaswal's interpretation of the term as "States ruled by parties"[7] has not been supported by the NC The NC explains *viruddha rajja* as "States which were hostile with aggressive postures towards each other which resulted in the imposition of restrictions on trades and communication, to conduct which special sanction from proper authorities was required."[8] The government was in a state of turmoil and any person of

1 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII 14, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp 81-82
2 *Arthaśāstra*, VIII 2, Jayaswal, op cit, p 83
3 NC 3, p 202
4. NC 3, p 203, also *Bṛh Vṛ* 3, p 786
5. Ibid
6 NC 3, p 198
7 Jayaswal, op. cit, p 88
8. NC. 3, p 196.

doubtful conduct could be easily imprisoned and punished.[1] If the first two definitions of *verajja*, indicating it as 'States in hostility' are accepted, it is not clear as to what was the difference between a *verajja* and the *viruddharajja*. Perhaps, the fundamental difference between the two was that, in spite of the strained relations and hostility, general trade and commerce as well as communication at the social and economic level were permitted to be continued in the *verajja*, whereas these were strictly restricted in the *viruddharajja*.[2]

(v) *Two-ruled States—Dorajja* or *dvairājya* was the type of government where "sovereignty vested in the hands of two rulers, both claiming their rights to the throne, and struggling hard to appropriate the kingdom, violence being the only means to decide the issue".[3] According to Jayaswal, in this type of government "the legal principle of joint property was transferred to the region of politics and acted upon".[4] Mention of the word *dāiya (dāyaka—a* claimant)[5] in the NC. clearly indicates that such kingdoms came into existence when there were two or more claimants to the throne, neither of whom was inclined to leave his right. Very often it would lead to conflict and disharmony. Kauṭilya characterises *dvairājya* or 'the rule of two' as "a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction."[6] The author of the NC. also does not recommend the constitution of *dvairājya*.[7]

(vi) *Republics—Ganarajja* in ancient India denoted a form of government where the power vested not in the

1 Ibid

2 See p 20, note 8, also *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 781

3. एगरज्जाभिलासिणो दो दाइया जत्थ कडगसंठिया कलहंति त दोरज्जं भण्णति—NC 3, p 198, also *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 780

4. Jayaswal, op cit , p 86.

5 See above Note 3

6. द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसंघर्षेण वा विनश्यति ।
—*Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 1–2

7. NC. 3, p 198 The nature of *dvairājya* mentioned by Kālidāsa is quite different from that of the NC The *dvairājya* mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* does not refer to a joint rule and responsibility,

hands of a person, but in 'a *gaṇa* or a group of people'.[1] The religious *gaṇas* or *saṅghas* of the Jaina and Buddhist Orders were precisely based on this form of government.[2] In the NC. references have been made to the *gaṇa* of the Mallas and the Sārasvatas.[3] Mention has also been made of the *Ābhīra-viṣaya*[4] which was a republic under the Guptas.[5] It is well known that the republics ceased to exist by the end of the 5th century A. D., and we get no information about them from our text.

(vii) *Monarchies*—Despite the references to the other types of States, monarchy was the usual form of government prevailing during the period. The political theories of our author are explicitly based on the monarchical form of government. The area ruled by a single king was known as *rājya*[6] where the authority of the king was considered to be indespensable for the welfare of the State. This form of government is known to us as monarchy.[7]

King and Kingship

King was the sovereign head of the State and was also the nucleus of all the State-activities. In the NC. the remarks of a king are quoted as "although not the Lord of the whole of India, I am the master or Lord in my dominions at least".[8] Such statements indeed indicate recognition of king's sovereignty over the State. The Ksatriyas alone were regarded as eligible for kingship,[9] but in practice non-Ksatriyas also some-

but it seems to have been a kingdom divided into two, each of which was held by a king.—Upadhyaya, B S, *India in Kālidāsa*, p 111

1 Altekar, op cit, p. 71
2. NC 3, p. 305.
3 NC 3, p 195
4 NC. 3, p 425
5 Jayaswal, op cit, p. 166
6. राज्यं नाम यावत्सु देशेषु एकभूपतेराज्ञा तावद्देशप्रमाणं ।—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p 1338
7. For Monarchies in ancient India see—Shamasastry, "Forms of Government in Ancient India"—*ABORI*, Vol XII (1930-31), pp 1-24
8. जइ वि णो भरहाहिवो तहावि अप्पणो रज्जे पभवामि—NC 2, p 465
9. NC. 2, pp. 459, 467. Yuan Chwang also remarks—' The sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised only by the Kṣatriyas;

times assumed the power.[1] The *Purāṇas* of this time invariably refer to the Śūdra kings who were ruling over certain parts of the country during this Kali age.[2]

To be regarded as the true king by the people it was necessary that the king should have a pure heritage *(ubhaya-kula-viśuddha)*, should belong to high Kṣatriya family *(uditakulavaṃśasaṁbhūta)*, and be properly coronated either by the previous king or by the subjects *(muddhābhisitta)*.[3] King Candragupta was thus not respected by the Kṣatriyas, because he came from the class of peacock-tamers *(mayūraposagavaṁsa)*[4] The coronation ceremony alone invested upon a king the rights of a full sovereign. The coronation of a king or emperor was styled as *mahābhiseka*, while that of a crown-prince or feudatory as *abhiṣeka*[5] According to the popular practice the heads of all the eighteen guilds or corporations and the ascetics of all the religious sects called on the king at the time of his coronation.[6] King had the right of keeping certain royal insignia like *chatra* (the royal parasol), *cāmara* (a pair of flywhisks) and *siṁhāsana* (the royal throne) as indicatives of his royal powers.[7]

Proficiency in the science of state-craft *(rajjaṇīti)*[8] was the prerequisite for a king. The king, who was not versed in state-craft, being incompetent in administering justice, was

rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes, assuming the distinction—Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol 1, p. 170

1 NC 3, p 266, NC. 4, p 229

2 *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXLIV 30–47, *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Sec 1, Cantos XXIX-XXX Vide—Beni Prasad, *States in Ancient India*, p. 336

3 NC 2, p 449, also *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, 6 18, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 6, p 1684.

4. NC 4, p 10

5 NC. 2, p 462.

6. NC. 2, p 463, also cf *Uttarā. Ṭī.*, p. 248, *Ādi Purāṇa*, XVI. 223-30

7. NC 3, p. 101; NC. 2, p. 450, also cf. *Harṣacarita*, p 103; *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, p. 20

8. NC. 3, pp. 506-7.

bound to lose his kingdom and was sometimes even dethroned or replaced by another king by his discontented ministers and subjects.[1] The kings were advised not to indulge in the following seven vices (*vasaṇa-vyasana*)-women, dice, wine, hunting, rude speech, severe punishment and misappropriation of the royal funds.[2] Addiction to these vices was bound to make a king incompetent in managing State-affairs in spite of his sound knowledge of state-craft (*rajjanīti*).[3] To have weakness for women was considered to be the greatest vice which even in the absence of the other vices could make a king neglect the affairs of the State.[4] Somadeva also considers free association with the inmates of harem as an intimate source of danger to the king. He states—"Verily the king who, blind with passion, associates with women in the inner apartments, soon loses his life, like a frog entering a serpant's hole".[5]

Women, dice, hunting and drink are mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* as "four sins reprehensible in a king with regard to the State-function"[6] The same view has been upheld by most of the ancient Brāhmaṇical authorities[7] Rude speech (*vayaṇa-pharusa*) was another source of danger to the king[8] as it could create dissatisfaction amongst the intellectuals. Somadeva clearly asserts—"Rude speech is even worse than the injury caused by a weapon".[9] Kings were advised

1 रज्जणीतिअजाणत्तणतो ववहारादि कज्जाणि अप्पणा "ण मीलेति" ण पेक्खति ति वुत्तं भवति, अपेक्खतस्स य रज्जं विणस्सति, अण्णो वा राया ठविज्जति—NC 3, p 507
Vimalasūri also states the knowledge of state-craft to be necessary for a king—*Nayavihīnu Niyikusala —Paumacariya*, 8 142, 612.

2 *N Bhā* 15 4799, see also—NC 3, p 507

3 NC 3, p 506

4 सेसवसणेहिं अवट्टं नो वि विसयलोलत्तणतो णिच्चमतेउरे अच्छति तस्स वि रज्जं विणस्सति —NC 3, p 507

5 *Yaśastilaka*, Book IV, p 153, *Nitivākyāmṛta*, 24 31, vide—Handiqui, K K, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 104

6 *Bṛh. Bhā* 1.940

7. *Arthaśāstra*, 8. 3 421, *Mahābhārata*, III. 13 7, *Manusmṛti*, VIII 50; *Kāmandaka Nitisāra*, V. 54, Sikdar, J. C., *Studies in the Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 82.

8. "वयणफरुसो" एत्थ वयणदोसेण रज्जं विणस्सति—NC 3, p. 507.

9. वाक्पारुष्यं शस्त्रपातादपि विशिष्यते—*Nitivā.*, p 179.

to keep the policy of avoiding severe punishment (*atiugga-daṇḍa*), since severe punishment like death or confiscation of property etc could intimidate the people to leave the country.[1] Misappropriation of the sources of income (*attha-dūsana*) resulted in empty treasury [2] The term is explained by Somadeva as spending money beyond the income of the State or giving money to a person unworthy of the same [3] King with an empty treasury (*kosavihūṇo rāyā*) was bound to ruin himself[4], since it was the treasury and not the person of the king which was the real sovereign.[5] Somadeva in the 10th century, while giving a detailed explanation of these vices (*vyasana*), emphatically asserts—"A single *vyasana* is enough to destroy a powerful king who may be possessing four kinds of armies, needless to say if all of them are combined."[6] Unlike the Brāhmanical law-givers who exempt even a wicked king and a Brāhmana from censure and punishment, as these two sustain the visible world,[7] our Jaina author asserts that a king addicted to any of the seven vices or unversed in the science of state-craft (*rajjaṇītiajāṇaga*) should be discarded by his ministers and replaced by an able king [8] Several instances are to be noted in the Jaina texts when the subjects revolted against a tyrant or vicious king, dethroned and banished him, and appointed his son as the king.[9] In the NC. instances of threat to the life of the king (or virtual killing) by the monks can be observed

1 अतिउग्गदडो "दडफरुसो", एत्थ जणो भया णस्सति—NC 3, p. 507.
2. अत्थुप्पत्तिहेतवो जे ते दूसेंतस्स अत्थुप्पत्ती ण भवति—Ibid.
3. अतिव्ययोऽपात्रव्ययश्चार्थस्य दूषणम्—*Nitivā.*, p 178.
4. अत्थाभावे कोसविहूणो राया विणस्सति—NC. 3, p. 507.
5. *Nitivā.*, p. 178.
6. Ibid , pp 177, 179.
7. *Nārada*smṛti, XVIII 31
8. तेण वसणिणरिंदतुल्लो इव सो परिच्चयणिज्जो—NC. 3, p. 507.
9. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* states that king Jiyasattu of Vasantapura was dethroned and banished by his ministers for his neglect of the state-affairs because of his excessive love for the queen Sukumāliyā, and his son was appointed as the king at his place.—*Āva Cū*, p. 534, also *Paumacariya*, 22. 75; *Saccaṁkira Jātaka* (1, No. 73), p. 362.

because of the king's vindictive attitude towards their religion, for asking the Jaina monks to touch the feet of the Brāhmaṇas and not permitting them to stay in the kingdom.[1]

The king was always surrounded with exceptional pomp and decorum *(vibhūti)*,[2] yet it would be unwise to assume that his duties were less arduous than his rights. He was primarily the protector of the State and his foremost duty was to protect the people from external aggressions and internal dissensions. A king, unable to discharge these functions, was indeed worthy of condemnation *(ayasa)*.[3] Our author quotes the famous dictum—"How can king be a king who does not protect the State *(ko rāyā yo na rakkhati)*".[4] Somadeva also believes—"The king's duty is to punish the wicked and protect the well-behaved, not just shaving his own head or wearing matted hair,"[5] and also "the king should adopt all possible measures to protect the world, that alone is counted as the basis of kingship."[6]

The king was the sovereign head in performing the military, judicial, legislative and executive functions of the State. Though assisted by a senior military official, i. e. *mahābalādhikṛta*, the king was ultimately the head of the army. He often led his armies to the battle-field in person.[7] His act of leading his troops in person was compared with the *aśvamedha* sacrifice by the contemporary authorities.[8] He was the final authority in the judicial matters of the State, and his judgement could not be overruled. The laws of the country were formulated by the king in accordance with the customs of the land; any person defying the same was liable to severe punish-

1. NC 1, p. 163
2. NC. 1, p 52, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1200.
3. NC 2, p. 83.
4. NC. 1, p 7
5. राज्ञो हि दुष्टनिग्रहः शिष्टपरिपालनं च धर्मः । न पुनः शिरोमुण्डनं जटाधारणादिकम् ।
—*Nītivā*., p. 42
6. राज्ञः पृथिवीपालनोचितं कर्म राज्यं—Ibid., p. 43.
7. NC. 3, p 146.
8. स्वामिनः पुरस्सरणं युद्धेऽश्वमेधसमम्—*Nītivā*., p. 369.

ment.[1] Several instances can be traced in the text when the king confiscated the property of the people, banished them or even put them to death being enraged on trifle matters.[2] King was the Lord of the royal treasury; treasury of an able king was supposed to be always full. The king was authorised to levy taxes, he could also excuse or allow the same to be paid later.[3] The important officials of the State and members of the personal staff were appointed by the king himself; he fixed their salaries and could also give increment in recognition of their meritorious services.[4] Besides these executive functions, the king was ultimately responsible for the overall social, cultural and moral well being of his subjects. Very often we find the kings giving donations to the Brāhmaṇas,[5] organizing religious debates, administering judgements on religious debates,[6] arranging various festivals and also taking a lively part in the social functions.[7] Another sacred duty of the king was to ensure proper maintenance of the *āśramas* and provide the monks and recluses with their necessary requirements. The author, re-echoing the sentiments of Kālidāsa, asserts, "the hermits are to be protected by the king *(raya-rakkhiyāṇi ya tavodhanāni)*",[8] and also believes that any physical injury to the hermits could cause disgrace to the king.[9]

Though not the head of a religion or Church, the king exercised a great influence in the field of religion as well. The heads of the various religious sects always tried to influence the king with their specific tenets with a view to convert him

1. जे पुण अणायारमता ण परिहरंति ते रण्णा डंडिया—NC 3, p. 503, also NC 4, p 331
2. रण्णा घोसावियं सोतूण तं अपरिहरंता जहा धणविणासं सरीरविणासं च पत्ता—NC 3, p 503, NC. 1, p. 133.
3. NC 4, p. 280
4. NC. 4, p 350.
5. NC. 3, p. 92.
6. NC 3, p. 325
7. NC. 2, p 444.
8. NC. 2, p. 83, also रायरक्खिया य तवोवणवासिणो भवंति—NC. 2, p. 179.
9. NC. 2, p. 83.

to follow their faith.[1] It was firmly believed that "the subjects follow the king in every matter including religion."[2] It may, however, be said that leaving aside a few exceptions[3] the kings of this age were not sectarians or hostile to religions other than their own. The religious debates organized for the various religious sects are a striking testimony to this fact.[4] It can thus be visualized that the duties and functions of the king were as varied as his powers, and that a high moral and spiritual standard must have been expected of him. Occasional references to inimical, unworthy and vicious kings *(duṭṭha rāyā, rāyaduttha, vasan-narimda)*,[5] however, reveal that not all the kings conformed to the desirable standards. Although the author is of the opinion that such a king should be dethroned by the people[6], yet, such cases of replacement must have been very few. The people thus must have silently suffered during the reign of tyrants and vicious kings.

Viceroyalty and Succession

The State was entrusted to the king as a trust and he had the right to choose his heir. An instance can be quoted from the NC. where we find a king requesting a Jaina monk to accept the crown.[7] Though not much authenticity can be placed on such instances, yet, these definitely reveal a king's right to choose his heir. In normal circumstances the law of primogeniture prevailed, i. e. the eldest son succeeded the throne.[8] He was appointed as a crown-prince during the

1 NC 3, p. 325.
2 NC 4, p 130, *Harṣacarita*, Tr. p. 84
3 For instance the case of a sectarian Brâhmana king asking the Jaina monks to touch the feet of the Brâhmanas or leave his kingdom --NC 1, p. 63
4 NC 3 p 325
5. NC 2, p 117, NC 3, p 507
6. NC. 3, p 507.
7. NC. 2, p 232.
8. तत्थ जेट्ठो जुवराया—NC 3, p. 48. In the *Harṣacarita* after the death

life time of the king and succeeded him after his death.[1] Younger princes were normally given small principalities to rule or important jobs in the Central administration. However, instances are not lacking when the princes conspired to seize the kingdom even while the king was alive. An instance can be seen in the NC. when three princes conspired together to kill the king with a view to usurp the kingdom and divide it amongst themselves.[2] The king, however, was aware of their conspiracy and severely punished the princes for their act of treachery.

The problem of succession sometimes became quite complicated when the king had no heir to succeed him. The lawgivers of this age contend that in the absence of a son to inherit the throne, the brothers, step-brothers, uncles, members of the royal family and thereafter a qualified outsider was entitled to be consecrated to become the king.[3] Very often the heirless kings were advised by their ministers to beget sons through monks.[4] Instances indicate that physically healthy and morally strong monks were called to the harem under the pretext of imparting religious sermons, and were forced to cohabit with the inmates of the harem. The unwilling monks were threatened to be executed.[5] Such a heir was accepted as a legitimate one[6] although the public opinion never favoured this practice. Even while resorting

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of the Prabhākaravardhana, Prince Rājyavardhana offers to resign the throne in favour of his younger brother and the latter violently protests (*Harṣacarita*, 200 etc.). It shows the law of primogeniture to have been a common practice although not a universal rule Vide—Beni Prasad, op. cit , p 360

1 NC 3, p. 198

2. पियरं मारित्ता रज्जं तिहा विभयामो—NC 3, p 48

3. *Nītivā* , p 249, see also—Basak, R G , 'Ministers in Ancient India', IHQ, Vol I, pp. 523-24

4. NC. 1, p 127, NC. 2, p 381.

5. NC 1, p. 128.

6. जहा परखेत्ते अण्णेण बीयं वाविय खेत्तिणो आहन्वं भवति, एव तुह अंतेउरखेत्ते अण्णेण बीयं णिसटं्ठ तुह चेव पुत्तो भवति—NC. 1, p. 127, NC. 2, p. 381.

to this practice under unavoidable circumstances, the kings always concealed the fact so as to avoid general condemnation.[1]

Still another way of choosing the heir to a vacant throne was the choice of 'Divine-will'.[2] In this form of succession a royal horse or elephant was invested with all the auspicious articles required for the coronation and was left by the officials to roam about the city to select a suitable heir.[3] An instance can be quoted in case of the robber Mūladeva[4] who was being taken around the city before being executed. At that time a royal horse and an elephant had been released, because the king had died issueless. When this procession of royal horse and elephant reached Mūladeva, the horse neighed and turned its back towards him, the elephant trumpeted, sprinkled sacred water over his body and placed him over its back. He was then publically announced to be their sovereign by the royal bards and ministers.[5] Many such instances can be noticed in the Jaina and other ancient texts.[6] However, once the heir was selected, he was coronated to the throne and was respected by the subjects irrespective of his former background and character.

Royal Council and Ministers

In the text of the NC. a cabinet (*parisā*)[7] consisting of

1. NC. 2, p 381.
2. LAI., p. 52.
3. NC. 2 p. 268.
4. NC. 4, p. 342, also *Vya. Bhā.* 4. 169.
5. NC. 4, p. 342.
6. The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (II, p 180) refers to Ṇhāviyadāsa Nanda who was declared to be the sovereign of Pāḍaliputta when the ceremonial horse turned his back towards him The *Paumacariya* of Vimala Sūri mentions that when the king of Mahāpura died issueless, an elephant was released to choose a heir (PCV. 22, 91). See also—*Darimukha-Jātaka* (III, No. 378, p. 239); Devendra Gaṇi's commentary on *Uttarādhyayana*, 3, p. 63, *Karakaṇḍucariu*, 2. 30, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 140 and 2, p. 233.
7. NC 1, p. 140, NC. 2, pp. 233, 460.

ministers and a number of State-officials have been mentioned who used to assist the king in matters concerning state-craft and administration. The political lawgivers of the age contended that "even an intelligent king cannot know every thing, the king, therefore, should enlist the help of competent ministers".[1] A list containing names of the senior most authorities of the State has been frequently mentioned in the NC. It includes the king (*rāyā*), the crown-prince (*juvarāyā*), prime-minister (*amacca*), *seṭṭhī* and *purohita*.[2] These five or rather three members excluding the king and the crown-prince must have formed the royal cabinet. Elsewhere in the NC. two other officers, viz. *senāpati* (commander-in-chief) and *satthavāha* (chief caravan-leader), are included in the list. It is also stated that the king enjoyed the rights of kingship along with the crown-prince, the commander-in-chief, the prime-minister, the *purohita*, the *seṭṭhī* and the *satthavāha*.[3]

According to Somadeva, the ministry of the king should consist of 3, 5 or 7 members,[4] while Śukra recommends a ministry of 10 members.[5] It is evident that our author sharing his views with Somadeva favours a smaller cabinet of only 3 to 7 members to which the king was bound to consult for all the important matters of the State. This royal council must have exercised immense influence over the king. The Jaina monks were advised to please the members of the royal council (*parisā*) for the achievement of any objectives.[6] The opposition from the royal council was the greatest misery that could befall the fate of a king and could also result into

1. *Śukranīti*, Chap. II, also *Nītivā.*, p. 114, *Manu.* VIII. 30.
2. राया जुवराया अमच्चो सेट्ठी पुरोहितो—NC. 4, p. 281, NC. 1, p. 164.
3. तस्स आदिराइणा अभिसित्तो मुद्धो मुद्धाभिसित्तो, सेणावइ अमच्च पुरोहिय सेट्ठि सत्थवाहसहिओ रज्ज भुंजति—NC. 2, p. 449.
4. *Nītivā.*, p. 128.
5. *Śukranīti*, II. 10.
6. दुट्ठं णाम राया पदुट्ठो होज्जा, तंमि पदुट्ठे जा तस्स परिसा सा उवचरियव्वा—NC. 1, p. 140.

state-dissension (*rajjaviggha*).[1] Somadeva points out towards the importance of the royal council by saying, "every enterprise of the king should be preceded by deliberation with councillors"[2] and that "with the help of the council of ministers the king can achieve all the wishful objects".[3] It can be, therefore, surmised that though endowed with sovereign powers, the kings of the age were duty-bound to consult the royal council[4] for the proper administration of the State An account of the duties and the status of these officials are given in the succeeding paragraphs on the basis of the matter available in the NC.

Crown-prince (*Juvarāyā*)—Next to the king was the crown-prince, who, as noted above, was the heir to the throne.[5] References reveal that the crown-prince held a very responsible position and represented the king during his absence or illness. He was called *adhirāyā* or subordinate to the king[6] as against the *ādirāyā*[7] or the supreme king, and may be identified with the *pratinidhi*[8] af the *Śukranīti*, who was one amongst the 10 important officials of the State. The *īśvara*

1. एष भोगाभिलाषी मम परिम भिदित रज्जविग्घ करेज्ज—NC 2, p 233
2. मन्त्रपूर्वः सर्वोप्यारंभ क्षितिपतीनाम्—*Nitivā*., p 114.
3. Ibid, p 130.
4. The Jaina texts describe five kinds of royal council, viz *pūramti*, *chattamti*, *buddha*, *mamti* and *rāhassiya* The *pūramti (pūrayamti)* council consisted of the Mahājanas of the State, while the members of the *chattamti* or *chatravati* were given the privilege of holding the royal parasol by the king The members of the *buddhi* council were well-versed in the local customs *(svasamayakuśala)*, w *mamti* council was the council of the ministers well-read in the politi cal science. The *rāhassiya* or *rāhasviki* council consisted of th secret emissaries who were adept in appeasing the angry que informed the king about the harem affairs —See *Bṛh. Vṛ* 1, For details of these councils see also—LAI , p 59, also Sikdar, o pp 97-98.
5. NC 2, p 449
6. NC 2, p 462
7. NC 2, p 449. For *ādirājā* as a title of the supreme king see also—Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharahut*, p 143
8. *Śukranīti*, II. 70-72

in the NC. is explained as an officer surrounded with splendid grandeur and also invested with a royal frontlet (*paṭṭa*).[1] He is identified with the crown-prince in the *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*.[2] Thus, his status might have been that of a feudatory king, and he succeeded the king after his demise.

Amacca (amātya)—The next office in the list is held by *amacca (amātya)*, and it is difficult to state the exact significance of the term. In the *Arthaśāstra* the officials of the State are collectively called *amātya*[3], while Manu calls the prime-minister simply as *amātya*.[4] Various terms like *amacca*,[5] *saciva*,[6] *maṁtī*,[7] *mahāmaṁtī* etc.[8] are mentioned in the text, but the difference between these terms[9] have not been explained. Various inscriptions of the mediaeval period[10] show *amātya* to be distinct from *saciva* and also as incharge of the revenue and taxation. However, this is not mentioned in the NC. At one place, *saciva* is explained as *maṁtī*[11] and elsewhere *amacca* as *maṁtī*.[12] In a story in the NC. Subuddhi is mentioned as a

1. ऐश्वर्यण युक्तः ईश्वरः सो य गामभोतियाद्दिपट्टबंधो—NC. 2, p. 450.
2. *Anu. Cū.*, p 11
3. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 6.
4. *Manusmṛti*, VII. 65.
5. NC 1, p. 164; NC. 4, p. 281
6. NC 1, p 127.
7. Ibid
8. NC 3, p. 57
9. According to Basak both the words *amātya* and *saciva* mean 'associates' or 'companions', but the word *mantrin* means a person who is concerned with *mantra* or secret counsel or deliberation on political matters. The *Amarakośa* (VIII 8 4-5) shows that an *amātya*, who is the king's *dhī-saciva* or *mati-saciva*, i. e an associate or minister for counsel, shall only be called *mantrin* and that all *amātyas* other than *mantrins* are *karmasacivas*—ministers for action or execution So it is that all *amātyas*, although they may be called *sacivas*, were not *mantrins*.—Basak, R. G., 'Ministers in Ancient India', IHQ., Vol. 1, pp. 523-24.
10. Altekar, A. S., *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 81. See also—*Śukranīti*, II 70-72.
11. सचिवो मंती—NC. 1, p 127.
12. असच्चो मंती—NC 2, p 267

saciva of king Jiyasattu and also as *amacca* and *mamti*[1] which shows that these three terms are somewhat indiscriminately used by our author. Kālidāsa also uses these terms almost as synonyms.[2] It seems that during this age the prime-minister was called *mahā-mamtī*,[3] while the other terms like *amacca*, *saciva* and *mamtī* simply denoted the other ministers of the State. The *mahāmamtī* has also been designated as *mahāmātya* in the various Caulukyan records.[4]

Purohita—The *purohita* or the royal-priest was mainly responsible for the religious, moral and cultural well-being of the State, and was instrumental in warding off natural and supernatural calamities (*aśiva*) by performing sacrifices and rituals.[5] The *Thāṇāṁga* (Abhayadeva's commentary, 7·558) defines *purohita* as *śāntikarmakārin*, i. e. one who performed rituals for the peace of the country. The *Vivāgasuya*[6] informs us that a sacrifice was performed by Mahesaradatta, the priest of king Jayaratha, to avert the king's misfortune With the decline of the Vedic sacrifices by this time, his position, however, must have considerably deteriorated, and, as Altekar has pointed out, "the post-Gupta inscriptions usually distinguish him from ministers showing that he was no longer a member of the ministry."[7] The *Śukranīti*, however, places him at the head of the ministry, although it also states that in view of others he had no place in that body.[8] Here again Altekar has opined that "the *Śukranīti* is probably following the older traditions rather than

1 NC 3, p 150
2. Upadhyaya, op cit, p 127
3 रज्जस्स महामंत्री—NC 3, p 57.
4 Altekar, A S, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 125
5 NC 2, p 267, cf *Nitivā*, p 160
6 P. 53. The *Dhanasakha Jātaka* (III, No. 353, p 159) also refers to an ambitious *purohita* who helped the king by performing sacrificial rites for acquiring a city which was difficult to conquer. See—LAI., p. 58.
7 Altekar, op. cit, p 121.
8. *Śukranīti*, II. 70-72

the contemporary practice,"[1] the same may be evidently stated about the NC. as well. It is, however, clear that even though not as a member of the ministry, the *purohita* exercised a deep moral influence over the State and the king.

The war-minister must have occupied an important place in the ministry of the king, although he has not been regularly mentioned along with the other members of the royal council in the text.[2] It is interesting to note that Somadeva is also opposed to the inclusion of commander-in-chief in the political council of the king, for he thinks that "war mongering leaders have a natural hankering after war".[3] Various references in the text, however, definitely show him to have been a very influential member who was to be consulted in all the important matters of the State.[4] He has been variously called as *senāpati*,[5] *senādhipa* and *mahābalādhikṛta*.[6] The last mentioned term has been more frequently used in the text. The inscriptions of the Guptas[7] and the Maitrakas[8] also reveal the *mahābalādhikṛta* to have been a common denomination of the commander-in-chief during this period

The other members of the council were the *seṭṭhi*[9] and the *satthavāha*[10] who acquired a high social and political status because of their economic prosperity and assistance to the State. *Seṭṭhi* was a prominent citizen, the head of a mercantile guild, a merchant or a banker, and he was entrusted

1 Altekar, op. cit, p 121
2 NC 1, p 164, NC. 4, p. 281
3. शस्त्राधिकारिणो न मन्त्राधिकारिण. स्यु.। शस्त्रोपजीविनां कलहमन्तरेण भक्तमपि भुक्तं न जीर्यति—*Nitivā*, pp 136-37
4 एतेषु सर्वकार्येषु आपृच्छनीय स च महाबलाधिकृतेत्यर्थः—NC 2, p 234.
5. NC. 2, p 179, NC 3, p. 203, *Harṣacarita*, p. 212, also CII. III, pp. 167, 168, 243, 249.
6 NC. 2, pp. 183, 234.
7. EI X 71; also CII. III, p. 210, note 2.
8 The Majhagawam Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Hastin (A. D 510-11)—CII. III, No. 331, p. 109, text p. 108, also p. 129, text p. 128.
9. NC. 2, p. 449.
10. Ibid.

with the duty of protecting the people of the town.[1] He is said to have been the head *(mahattara)* of the eighteen professional castes or guilds[2] and was invested with a golden *patta* by the king which was inscribed with the image of the goddess *Śrī*.[3] *Satthavāha* was the chief caravan-leader, who took caravans abroad with the permission of the king.[4] He has not been mentioned always as a member of the council, and at one place in the NC. he has been mentioned amongst the personal staff of the king.[5] It is, however, clear that the business communities played an important part in the political life and administration of this age.

The above-mentioned officers constituted the council of the king. Besides, there were the heads of various departments who in turn were assisted by a number of sub-officers. An analysis of the nature and duties of a large number of officials mentioned in the NC. enables us to visualize the working of the following departments of the State :

Royal House-hold

In the monarchical form of government the department of royal house-hold must have claimed the foremost importance. *Rājakula*[6] was the centre of State-politics. The royal palace *(pāsāda, bhavana)*[7] was provided with every convincible amenities for comforts, was surrounded by walls and moats *(prākāra, parikhā)*[8] and was guarded day and night by the royal guards *(ārakkhiya-purisa)*. It was decorated with gardens and parks, and its floor was studded with precious stones and

1. पुरस्स सेट्ठी कोट्टवालो वा—NC. 3, p. 57; also सव्वपगइओ जो रक्खति णिगमारक्खिओ सो सेट्ठी—NC. 2, p. 234.
2. अट्ठारसण्ह पगतीणं जो महत्तरो सेट्ठि—NC. 2, p. 267.
3. जम्मि य पट्टे सिरिया देवी कज्जति तं वेंटेणग, तं जस्स रण्णा अणुन्ना सो सेट्ठी भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 450.
4. जो सरज्जे परज्जे य पन्नभिण्णातो सत्थं वाहेति सो सत्थवाहो—Ibid.
5. ईसत्थमादियाणि रायसत्थाणि आहयति कथयंति ते सत्थवाहा—NC. 2, p. 469.
6. NC. 2, p. 232.
7. NC. 1, p 9, NC. 3, p. 397.
8. NC. 1, p. 9.

jewels.[1] Efficient architects *(vaḍḍhakīrayaṇa)* were employed to plan the royal palace in a manner so that it remained cool during summer and warm in winter.[2]

(i) *King's Harem*—The harem of the king constituted the most important part of the royal house-hold. The chief queen of the king must have been the cynosure of all eyes of the royal harem's inmates, and she was known as *rājamahiṣī (raṇṇ-mahisī)* or *mahādevī*.[3] She was invested with a royal frontlet which shows that probably she also underwent coronation ceremony at the time of the king's coronation. Prabhāvatī, the chief queen of Prabhākaravardhana, can be seen to remark : "This forehead in winning the honorable fillet of chief queen has enjoyed a thing scarcely accessible to desire."[4] The royal harem *(oroha, aṁteura)*[5] was divided into three parts—(i) *juṇṇa-aṁteura*, (ii) *ṇava-aṁteura* and (iii) *kaṇṇa-aṁteura*. In the former resided the old ladies unfit for sexual relationship; the second one was inhabited by the young ladies in full-bloom of their youth; and in the third one lived the daughters of the royal family who had yet not attained the prime of their youth.[6] The kings were always desirous of enriching their harem with beautiful women without any consideration of their caste or family background. A story narrates that five hundred girls of a town, who had gone to worship Indra, were kidnapped and taken away to the harem by the orders of prince Hemakumāra. The king on being confronted by the parents of these girls enquired if any one of them had any objection to take his son as their son-in-law. Finally, all the girls were married to the prince.[7]

1. NC. 2, p. 154.
2. NC. 3, p. 44.
3. NC 3, p 536.
4. *Harṣacarita*, p. 153.
5. NC. 4, p. 120.
6. NC. 2, p. 452. For king's harem see also—*Arthaśāstra*, pp. 39-41; *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11. 10.
7. NC. 3, p. 243; also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 4153.

Sometimes the kings did not hesitate even in kidnapping the married women or the nuns. Example of the nun-sister of Ajja Kālaga, who was taken to the harem by king Gaddabhilla,[1] can be cited in this context.

(ii) *Harem Officers*–The harem of the king, being the primary source of royal pomp and prestige, was carefully guarded. Entry to and exit from the harem was strictly restricted.[2] Royal harem was guarded by the following five officers (i) *damdārakkhiya* was the guard who took a man or woman into the harem with the permission of the king,[3] and carried a staff in his hands; (ii) *dovāriya* stood at the entrance of the harem,[4] (iii) *varisadhara* was the guard whose testicles were removed by a surgical operation (*vaddhiya*) or made ineffective by rubbing medicines (*cippiya*) at the time of his birth;[5] (iv) *kañcukī* was the chamberlain who had free access to the king as well as to the inmates of the harem,[6] (v) *mahattaraga* was the officer who took the inmates of the harem to the king or told him about their menstruation bath, pacified the anger of the inmates and reported to the king the cause of their anger.[7] A strict watch was thus kept over the movements of women of the harem. Tho author believes that the women of the palace should be properly guarded and heavily punished for any breach of chastity.[8] However, in spite of these strict precautions there did exist cases of illicit relationships between the inmates of the harem and State-officials. Several stories in the NC. testify to the existence of the same.[9]

1. NC. 3, p. 59.
2. तस्थ रायकुले दुल्लभो पवेसो—NC. 2, p. 232, see also—*Harṣacarita*, p. 111
3. NC 2, p 452, see also—*Abhidhānarājendrakośa* under *daṁḍārakkhiya*
4. NC. 2, p. 452.
5. Ibid , also *Bṛh. Bhā*. 4. 5167.
6. NC 2, p 452, see also–*Paumacariya*, 938, 297. According to Vācaspati *Kañcukin* was old in age, Brāhmana by caste, virtuous and clever in every thing (*Abhidhānarājendrakośa* under *kañcukī*).
7. NC 2, p. 452 Vâtsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* (4. 2. 56) refers to *mahattarikā* as taking message to the king with various presents from the queens.—Chakladar, *Studies in Kāmasūtra*, p. 109
8. NC. 3, p. 521.
9. NC. 3, p. 520.

(iii) *Other Employees of the Palace*—Apart from the above-mentioned officers who were particularly entrusted with the duty of guarding the royal harem, there were a number of other employees employed to serve the various departments of the royal house-hold. The management of the royal kitchen was under the charge of a particular officer. The royal cooks (*sūyāra—sūpakāra*)[1] were proficient in preparing various types of dishes. The royal kitchen was divided into six sub-sections[2]—(i) *kotthāgāra* or granary where all the varieties of provisions, e.g. wheat, rice, pulses etc. were stored, (ii) *bhāṇḍāgāra* or the place for keeping the costly vessels of the royal household, (iii) liquor and other varieties of drink were kept in the *pāṇāgāra* or *pānasālā*, (iv) milk products were stored in *khīra-ghara* or *khīrasālā*, (v) the fuel was stored in the *gaṁjasālā*, a place for grinding the corn and (vi) *mahānasasālā* was the actual cook-house where the food was prepared for the members of the royal house-hold.[3] Besides the members of the royal house-hold, the guests of the State (*raṇṇo-pāhuṇga*) and the employees of the royal house-hold, i.e. the soldiers and guards, the needy persons and the monks were also fed from the royal kitchen. The people were given food at the time of epidemic or famine (*dubbhikkha*).[4] The king had his own doctors and physicians (*vejja*)[5] who were well versed in the various branches of medicine. Astrology (*joisa*) being a popular science of the age, the kings very often consulted the astrologers (*joisiya*) and fortune-tellers (*nemittiya*)[6] for various ceremonies and important matters of the State.

Among the personal attendants of the king, *śiroraksa*[7] or the royal body-guard was the most important. He has been

1. NC. 1, p 15.
2. NC. 2, pp. 455-56.
3 Ibid.
4. NC. 2, p. 455.
5. NC 3, p. 423, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, p. 55.
6. NC 1, p. 22.
7. रायाणं जो रक्खति सो रायारक्खियो-शिरोरक्ष:—NC 2, p. 234.

termed as *aṅga-rakṣaka*[1] in the various Jaina texts. *Rājavallabha*[2] is another officer frequently mentioned in the text. According to Gulab Chandra Choudhary, his status was equivalent to our modern private secretary.[3] Among the minor attendants, *parimadda* (who rubbed and massaged the body of the king), *majjāvaga* (who gave bath to the king), *maṁḍāvaga* (who adorned the person of the king), *pariyattaga* (the carrier of clothes and ornaments), the bow-carriers (*cāpa*), the sword-carriers (*asi*), the jewellery-box-carriers or betel-box-carriers (*hadappa*) etc. are mentioned in the text.[4] There were various employees to entertain the royal house-hold. The king along with the members of his family attended various performances performed by the acrobats (*naḍa*), dancers (*naṭṭaga*), wrestlers (*malla*), boxers (*mutthiya*), jestors (*velaṁbiya*), reciters (*kāhaga*), story-tellers (*akkhāhaga*), jumpers (*pavaga*), pole-dancers (*laṁkha*) etc.[5] The *jalla*, *lāsaga* and *bhaṁḍa* were the bards and minstrels who proclaimed victory to the king (*jayasadda-payottā*)[6] and recited songs in his praise (*stotra-pāṭhaka*).[7] The department of the royal house-hold thus was an administration by itself and must have exercised immense influence over the internal and external affairs of the State.

Military Organisation

Wars and border-conflicts being a regular feature, the kings maintained large standing armies to protect the State. The political atmosphere depicted in the NC. often displays very unsafe and insecure circumstances—the subjects revolting

1 Choudhary, Gulab Chandra, *Political History of Northern India from Jaina Sources*, p 346.
2 NC. 1, p. 86, NC. 2, pp 121, 181, see also—*Upamitibhava-prapañcā-kathā*, p. 344.
3. Choudhary, op. cit., p. 346
4. NC 2, p 469.
5. NC. 2, p. 468.
6. जयसद्दपयोत्तारो लासगा भंडा—Ibid.
7. जल्का राज्ञः स्तोत्रपाठका:—Ibid.

against the crown,[1] the State authorities constantly fighting among themselves,[2] the cities being attacked, seized or burnt by the enemies,[3] the villages forming a confederation to fight against a common enemy or uniting under a common fort,[4] the kingdoms being destroyed (*viṣaya-bhaṅga*) under the wake of State-dissension.[5] All these circumstances make it apparent to assume that each village, town and kingdom had at least a limited amount of army for the protection of its people.

Four-fold Army—The army (*senā* or *bala*) of a king consisted of the traditional four arms (*cauraṁga*)—infantry (*pāikka*), cavalry (*āsa*), elephant-corps (*hatthi*) and chariot-corps (*raha*).[6] No information regarding the formation of these units is given in the text. However, it appears that chariot-corps had ceased to play any important part in the warfare of this time. In none of the stories the chariot-corps are mentioned, while the others are alluded to.[7] The chariots, however, were used for purposes other than warfare.[8] The elephants and horses were trained thoroughly.[9] The trainers of elephants and horses were called *damaga*,[10] while the mahouts were styled as *meṁtha*.[11] All the four departments must have been

1. सव्वम्मि रज्जखोभो—NC. 2, p 419
2. भोइयस्स भोइयस्स विरोहो, एवं गामस्स य, रट्ठस्स रट्ठस्स य—NC 2, p 428.
3. NC 2, p 423.
4. NC. 2, p 419, also NC. 3, p 163
5. NC 2, p 187.
6. NC 3, p 321, also NC 2, p. 455.
7. हत्थिखधगओ संगामं जोहेइ—NC. 3, p 298 In the Aihole Jaina inscription Harsa is mentioned as possessing an army of well trained elephants *gajendrānika (EI.* VI, pp. 1-10). Although the chariot-corps *(raha-bala)* is referred to in the NC. and the other contemporary Jaina texts, yet mention to them appears to be rather conventional. In the *Harṣacarita* also the chariots are hardly ever mentioned (see–Altekar, op. cit., p. 145, also Choudhary, op. cit., p. 372).
8. NC. 3, p. 99.
9. NC. 1, p. 3.
10. NC. 2, p. 469.
11. Ibid.

under the charge of efficient officers, though no information in this respect is forthcoming from the text.

Army Staff—The commander-in-chief, known as *mahābalādhikṛta*, *senāpati* or *senādhipa*, was the senior-most officer of the army who worked under the direct supervision of the king. The *mahābalādhikṛta* is sometimes mentioned as a protector of a *deśa* or *viṣaya*,[1] which shows that while holding his office of commander-in-chief, he was also entrusted with the charge of administration of a certain province.[2] A story in the NC. indicates that three generals were sent by a king to protect the border towns.[3] The status of *mahābalādhikṛta* was higher than *koṭṭapāla*, *nigamārakkhiya* or *seṭṭhi*, *coroddharaṇ'ka* and *daṁḍapāsiga*,[4] but it appears to have been lower than that of the *amātya* or the prime-minister to the king.[5] There must have been a number of generals or commanders known as *balādhikṛta*[6] under the *mahābalādhikṛta*. The officers of the army were sometimes simply called as *daṇḍa*[7] meaning thereby a *daṇḍanāyaka*. Their status was that of the colonels stationed in different districts in charge of local units.[8] Bāṇa in the 7th century A. D. mentions yet another class of officials styled as *kaṭuka*[9] which is interpreted as a marshal [10] In this context Bāna continues "Shrill words of command from the marshals dispelled the slumbers of the blinking riders." In the NC., however, the *kaduga* is mentioned as one of the five village-officers who was vested with powers to punish a person

1. NC 2, pp. 183, 234
2. Same fact can be seen from various Jaina texts.—Choudhary, op cit, p 365
3. NC. 4, p. 311.
4. NC. 2, p. 234, also NC. 3, p. 203.
5. NC. 3, p. 203.
6. *Harṣacarita*, p 199, *Kādambarī*, p 331, CII III, pp. 109, 208, 210.
7. NC 4, p 311
8. Altekar, op. cit., p. 145.
9. *Harṣacarita*, p. 199.
10. Saletore, R. N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 265.

for his reprehensible behaviour during a *goṭṭhī*.[1] He appears to be more of a judicial authority rather than an official in the army.

The important towns and cities of the State were considerably fortified to enable the people of the adjoining towns and villages to take shelter during the hostile period. A king is observed issuing command to his subjects to leave their villages and towns and take shelter inside the adjacent fort (*samāsanna dugga*)[2] due to the aggression of a non-Āryan king. The *koṭṭapāla*[3] or *koṭavāla*[4] was responsible for the protection of the fort. He has been called by a similar name in the Jaina literature[5] *durgādhyakṣa*[6] was his another designation. The frontiers of the State or town were guarded by the officer known as *dvārapāla*[7], *rakṣapāla*[8] or *sthānapāla* (*ṭhāṇapāla* or *ṭhāṇailla*)[9] who kept a strict watch over the borders of the State. He was called *maryādādhurya*[10] under the Pratīhāra kings. It appears that each kingdom had a restricted area called *jaṇamera*[11] or *jaṇasīmā*. Beyond this the ordinary citizens were not allowed to travel. The royal guards, however, were allowed to move beyond this area till the actual borders to defend the frontiers. They were, however, not allowed to cross the border of the State, i. e. *rāyamera*[12] or *rāyasīmā*[13] and enter the territory of the other

1. दोसावण्णस्स गोट्ठियस्स दंडपरिच्छेयकारी कडुगो भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 144, also *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p 229
2. NC. 4, p 229
3. णगर रक्खति जो सो णगररक्खियो कोट्टपाल—NC 2, p 234.
4. NC 3, p 57.
5. *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṅgraha*, p. 10.
6. Altekar, op. cit, p. 146.
7. NC. 4, p. 16.
8. Ibid
9. NC. 3, pp. 199–200.
10. *EI.* 1, pp. 154–60
11. सीमा मेरा मज्जाता, तं जणमेरं रायमेरं च दुविहं पि अतिक्कमति—NC 3, p. 201; also जणरायसीमा—NC. 3, p 200.
12. Ibid.
13. रायसीमाइक्कमे इमे दोसा—NC. 3, p. 202.

king. *Gomiya*[1] (*gaulmika*) is another officer frequently mentioned in the text. He is sometimes identified with *sthānapāla*[2] or *rakṣapāla*, showing thereby that he was a royal guard for defending the State frontiers. The word is also explained in the sense of a *daṇḍapāśika*[3] or a *śaulkika*.[4] From the references in the text the *gomiyas* appear to be the royal guards moving in the forests near the State frontiers with a view to keep watch over the persons passing through the forests. In the Vṛtti of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* the *gaulmika* is generally explained as a *sthānapāla*.[5] From the Bāṇa's account[6] and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*[7] it can be inferred that the *gaulmikas* were the royal guards who were responsible for defending the State frontiers.

The ancient as well as mediaeval texts on polity invariably refer to the six-fold division of the soldiers. This was presumably based on the community or region of their recruitment. These six kinds of soldiers or forces were : hereditary troops (*maula*), mercenaries (*bhṛta*), guild-levies (*śreṇi*), soldiers supplied by feudatory chiefs or allies *(suhṛd-bala)*, soldiers captured during war (*dviṣad-bala*) and forest-tribes *(aṭavī-bala)*.[8] The author, however, has referred to only two types of soldiers, namely the *kṛtavṛtti* and the *akṛtavṛtti*[9] No

1 NC. 2, pp 97, 231, NC 3, p. 197.
2 गोमिया ठाणइल्का—NC 3, p 199
3 गोमिया दडवासिया—NC. 2, p 231.
4 गोमिया सुंकिया—NC. 2, p 97, cf गौल्मिकै. शुल्कपालै.—*Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p 1071
5. Various explanations of the *gaulmika* are given in the *Bṛh. Vṛ* (4, p 1185), गौल्मिका नाम ये राज्ञः पुरुषाः स्थानक बद्धा रक्षयन्ति—(3, p 783), गौल्मिकैः बद्धस्थानकैः रक्षपालैः (3, p 829), गौल्मिकाः स्थानपालाः (3, p 860, 6, p 1686).
6 न दत्तमस्य आटविकम्य गौल्मिकेनेव देवी प्रासादेन गन्तुम् ।
अप्रमत्त पार्थिवैरिव पर्यन्तावस्थितबहुगुप्तगुल्मकैः ।—Agrawala, V S., *Kādambari : Eka Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp. 137, 221. The term *gaulmika* frequetly mentioned in the inscriptions has been interpreted as superintendents of woods and forests *(gulma)* (CII. III, No 121, p. 52, note 4). However, no such thing is denoted in our text.
. Act 6.
8. *Amarakośa*, IV. 26; *Nītivā.*, p. 211, *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, VI 71.
9. NC. 2, p. 455.

details regarding these soldiers are found in the text, but it can be presumed that the *kṛtavṛtti* must have been the soldiers who were paid according to rules formulated and agreed to by the king, while the *akṛtavṛtti* were the hereditary soldiers who subsisted upon the land-grants or such other trusts issued by the State. In other words, this two-fold division appears to have been a broad division of the soldiers into mercenary and hereditary troops. Yuan Chwang also informs us that "the recruitment (of the soldiers) was done by public proclamation, rewards were promised"[1] and also that "a select body of guards was recruited from heroes of choice valour, a sort of hereditary military aristocracy."[2] Besides, the employees like the *bhaḍa*[3] and *cāḍa*[4] are also mentioned along with the *sūcakas* or spies. Both these terms have been interpreted as 'regular' and 'irregular troops' by the scholars.[5] The NC. does not enlighten us about the nature of their work, although they are seen as a class of employees of the State.

Weapons—Various types of offensive and defensive weapons were provided to the army. The various weapons for fighting as mentioned in the NC. were : *cāpa* or *dhanu*[6] (bow), *śara*,[7] *śalya* and *kanaka*[8] (different kinds of arrows), *ardha-candra*[9]

1 Watters, op. cit, 1, p 343, Beal, S, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. 1, p. 213.
2 Watters, op cit, p. 171, Beal, op. cit, p 87.
3. NC. 3, p 245
4. अहवा सूचएहिं चाडएहिं कहिए–तत्थ गेण्हणादिया दोसा भवंति–NC. 3, p. 42
5. CII. III, p. 98, note 2. The *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa* are frequently mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions—see Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Hastin (475–76 A.D.)—CII III, No. 21, p. 98, text p. 96; Māliya Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Dhārasena II (571-72 A.D.) issued from Valabhī—CII. III, No. 38, p 170, text p 166, also pp. 105, 109, 120.
6. NC. 2, p. 6.
7. NC 4, pp 306, 304.
8. NC. 3, p. 298.
9. Ibid

(an arrow with crescent-shaped head), *asi* or *khagga*[1] (sword), *churiyā* or *kṣurikā* (dagger), *kumta*[2] (lance), *bhallī*[3] (spear) and *gadā* (club). The bow and arrow seem to have been the most popular weapons of the time. The science of archery (*dhanurveda*)[4] was regularly practised and had reached an advanced stage. Mention has been made of the five postures of body which are assumed by the archers at the time of fighting (*johaṭṭhāṇa*). These were *ālīḍha*, *paccālīḍha*, *vesāha*, *mamḍala* and *sama-pada*[5]. *Chaliya* is also mentioned as another posture according to certain authorities[6] Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* mentions the *ālīḍha* posture of fighting.[7] Commenting upon the verse Mallinātha quotes from a lexicon according to which there were five postures of fighting,[8] and *ālīḍha* was the one in which right foot was placed forwarded and left bent back.[9] Vallabha also mentions eight such postures of fighting.[10] There were proficient archers who could shoot on hearing the sound (*saddaveh'no-gahiyacāpā*).[11] Among the defensive equipments the coat of mail (*kavaca-sannāha*) is mentioned and the soldier clad with the same (*vammita-kavaca*)[12] was supposed to be invincible in the battlefield. These weapons (*āyudha-śastra*)[13] were stored in the *āyudhāgāra* which was under the charge of a responsible State officer.

1. NC. 1, p 45.
2. NC 1, p 32.
3 NC 2, p 28.
4 NC 3, p 203.
5 इदाणि जोहट्ठाणं पंचविह इमं–आलीढ पच्चलीढे, वेसाहे मंटले समपदे य— NC. 4, p. 281.
6. Ibid.
7. *Raghuvamśa*, III. 53.
8. स्थानानि धन्विनां पंच तत्र वैशाखमस्त्रियाम्, त्रिवितस्त्यन्तरौ पादौ मडलं तोरणाकृति। अन्वर्थं स्यात् समपदमालीढ तु ततोऽग्रत.—Com. on III. 52.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. NC. 1, p. 103.
12. NC. 3, p. 298, cf. *Bṛh. Vṛ.*, p. 1123, also p. 1122.
13. NC. 4, p. 127.

Wars—The wars were a common feature of the age in which a large number of people were killed.[1] Although no mention of the righteous war (*dharmayuddha*)[2] is made in the text, yet it seems that a certain moral code was desired to be observed during the war. An enemy who was seeking refuge (*śaraṇāgata*) was not to be killed in spite of his act of damage to one's own troops[3] Somadeva believes that the frightened and the unarmed should not be killed in the battle, it is like killing a Brāhmana.[4]

Taking revenge because of a woman was one amongst the many causes of war. This can be seen in case of Ajja Kālaga who waged war against king Gaddabhilla of Ujjayinī with the help of 94 kings from Persia for kidnapping his nun-sister.[5] Sometimes the desire to acquire certain precious or sacred object like the image of a deity or a diadem also resulted in war. Udāyana waged war on Pajjoya, because the latter had kidnapped a maid servant and the image of a deity from the farmers of the State.[6] Due to the lack of proper demarcation of State boundaries, border conflicts between the neighbouring States frequently occurred.[7] Very often the martial spirit and the desire for self-aggrandisement was the main cause of fighting which led the powerful kings to exploit the smaller ones. In such cases usually the victorious kings were satisfied only by a formal acceptance of sovereignty and overlordship by the vanquished. Quite often the kingdom of the defeated king was re-entrusted in the hands of his nearest relative. In the NC. we find a victorious king giving back the kingdom to the crown-prince, i. e. the son of the defeated

1. जुद्धे य बहुजणक्खयो भवति—NC. 3, p 203.
2 For the conception of *dharmayuddha* in ancient India see—
   sāstra, 10.10.27.
3. सरणागया णो पहरिज्जति, णो सरणागयस्स पहरिज्जति--NC. 3, p. 148.
4. रणेषु भीतमशस्त्रं च हिंसन् ब्रह्महा भवति—*Nitivā.*, p. 364.
5. NC. 3, p 59.
6. NC. 3, p. 196.
7. ZC. 4, p. 311.

king for being pleased with his services.[1] This was a common practice followed in India from the 4th to the 10th century A. D.[2] On the basis of the above references, it can be easily stated that in those days of political uncertainty, the kings were always desirous of enhancing the strength of their army, which was a well organized department of the State.

Police and Police Officers

Corelated to the armed forces was the Police Department. The *coroddharaṇikas* (the exterminators of thieves) as well as the *daṁḍapāsikas* (the carriers of nooses to catch the thieves) were the two senior officers of the police. The *coroddharaṇika* was entrusted with the duty of protecting a *deśa* or *viṣaya* (a unit), and was designated as *deśārakṣika*.[3] The *daṁḍapāsika* was given the charge of detecting the thieves, especially during night, and his status was that of an *ārakṣika*.[4] These two officers frequently figure in the contemporary Maitraka records,[5] on the basis of which Virji has concluded : "The *daṇḍapāśika* was apparently a head police-officer under whom the *cauroddharaṇ'kas*, the *vartmapālas*, the *pratisārakas* and other sub-ordinate police-officials exercised their functions".[6] From the NC. the status of the *coroddharaṇ'ka* seems to have been much higher than that of *daṇḍapāśika*. In a list showing the consecutive status (*paraṁparā*) of the State officials, the *daṇḍapāśika* is mentioned before the *seṭṭhi* and the *senāpati*,[7] showing his inferior status to these two officials, while at another place the

1 NC. 3, p 283
2. Jayaswal, op cit , p 357.
3. देसो विसतो, त जो रक्खति सो देसारक्खिओ, चोरोद्धरणिक:—NC 2, p 234
4. "आरक्खि" दडवासिओ भण्णति—NC 3, p 113, आरक्षिक. दण्डपाशिक: —*Bṛh. Vṛ* 5, p. 1441; also *Prabandha Cintāmani*, p 77
5 Māliya Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Dharasena II (571-72 A D)—CII III, No 38, p 170, note 2, text p 166, also Deo-Baranark (undated) Inscription of Jīvitagupta II—CII III, No. 46, p. 218, note 3, text p 216
6. Virji, K J., *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p 288.
7. NC. 3, p 203

coroddharaṇika is mentioned after the *seṭṭhi* and before the *mahābalādhikṛta* (*senāpati*),[1] denoting his status to have been higher than that of the *seṭṭhi* (apparently from the *daṇḍapāśika* also) and inferior to that of the *senāpati*. The *daṇḍikas*[2] very frequently mentioned in the text were perhaps the senior police officers[3] in charge of surveillance. The royal guards and policemen, termed as *rāya-purisas*,[4] were responsible for proper maintenance of law and order in the State. The political and social conditions being quite unsafe, most of the towns and villages were in a constant danger of an attack from the non-Āryan thieves and bandits (*bodhita*) who kidnapped the people and captured their property.[5] The services of the army must have been requisitioned by police to solve such acute problems. Mention of the arrival of the king's army (*khaṁdhāvāra*) in order to threaten the Mleccha bandits[6] in the text reveals the same fact. Yuan Chwang informs us that "soldiers were requisitioned to perform police functions".[7]

System of Espionage

A regular system of espionage was organized by the Military as well as the Police Department for the protection and security of the State. The *sūcakas* or the spies along with the *cālagas* reported to the king about the general activities of the people and monks.[8] *Sūcakas* were also termed as *cāra*.[9] No details about these spies are given in the text, but from Somadeva we learn that the spies or secret agents could be broadly divided into two groups—one responsible for internal

1 NC 2, p 234
2 NC 1, pp. 66, 86, NC. 3, p 262, NC. 4, p. 234.
3. According to Fleet, *daṇḍika* (Lit. a chastiser, a punisher) may denote either a judicial functionary from *daṇḍa* in the sense of a fine, or a police-officer from the same word in the sense of a rod (or punishment)—CII III, p. 218, note 4.
4. NC 3, pp. 200–1, also *Samarāiccakahā*, p. 271.
5. NC 2, p 419, NC. 3, p. 163.
6. "बोधिता" मिच्छा, तेसिं भीओ भणिज्ज–"एसो खंधावारो एति" त्ति—NC. 2, p. 81.
7. Beal, op. cit, 1, p. 87.
8. सूयगेहिं वा राउले सूइज्जति—NC 3, p. 105, also *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p. 568.
9. NC. 3, p. 113; *Nīśvā*., p. 172.

intelligence and surveillance of the State subjects and the other in charge of collating external intelligence and organising espionage activities in the neighbouring States.[1] These spies worked in the guise of travellers, traders etc. The monks were often suspected to be spies (*cāra*)[2] from the neighbouring States. The spies indeed would have found it feasible to disguise themselves as monks to avoid the suspicion of the State-officers. In the *Yaśastilaka* we find a spy disguised as a religious mendicant and surrounded by his disciples who proclaim his mystic powers.[3] With the help of the reports regularly furnished by the spies, the kings were facilitated in the proper administration of the State.

External Affairs

The External or Foreign affairs of the State were entrusted in the hands of an officer variously called as *rāyadūta*,[4] *dūta*[5] or *dūtapurisa*[6] in the text. The State envoys were entitled to move even in the hostile kingdoms and no harm was done to their person.[7] Somadeva also asserts "An envoy is not to be molested on any account howsoever rudely he may speak, because he speaks the wishes of his master."[8] In the contemporary inscriptions, *dūta* is sometimes taken as an occasional substitute for the *dūtaka* who was authorised to issue the copper-plate charters.[9] Written messages were sent abroad

1 Vide—Beni Prasad, op cit., p 392. The *sūcakas*, *anu-sūcakas*, *prati-sūcakas* and *sarva-sūcakas* were four classes of spies who were entrusted with different rights and duties—*Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 1, pp 129 f.

2 NC 3, p. 113.

3 Handiqui, K. K , *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 109

4. रायदूतेण वा सद्धिं गम्मति—NC 3, p 203.

5 NC 3, pp. 204, 262.

8. महत्यपकारेऽपि न दूतमुपहन्यात, वध्याभावाद्दूत : सर्वमेव जल्पन्ति–*Nitivā.*, p. 171.

9. CII. III, p. 100, note 3, also p 217, note 9. In the NC. *dūtaga* is mentioned as distinct from *dūta* and is shown as an employee of the royal court—NC. 3, p 274.

and the person in charge of taking a message was known as *lehasaṁdesaga*.[1] He has been called *lekhavāha* in other Jaina texts.[2] Bāṇa as well as Yuan Chwang informs us that 'there were numerous couriers to carry messages to and fro'[3] Besides, there was an officer known as *mudrika* or *mudrādhyakṣa* who issued passports *(muddā paṭṭa)*[4] to travellers and traders for their safe and secure journey in the State. The persons travelling without the royal sanction or the passport (*muddā patta*) were liable to be imprisoned and punished.

Treasury or Śrīgṛha

The Department of Royal Treasury was the very life to the king and the State. King with an empty treasury (*kosavihīṇo rāyā*), as mentioned before, was bound to be ruined.[5] Misappropriation of the sources of royal treasury was a grave danger to the king. Evidently, the king was the head of the royal treasury and under him must have worked a number of other officials The treasury of the king consisted of three parts. The first was *kośa*[6] or the treasure-house where the currency and precious metals like gold and silver were preserved. The twenty-four varieties of pearls and jewels (*rayaṇa*) are said to be enriching the royal treasury.[7] The *koṭṭhāgāra*[8] was the second place where all the twenty-four varieties of corns were stored, and the last one was called *saṁṭṭhāṇa*[9] where the valuable royal clothes and dresses were safely kept. These departments had their respective heads like the *kośādhyakṣa* and *koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*. No mention of them, however, is made in the text. The royal treasury was usually called *sirighara*

1. तेसिं लेहसंदेसगेण पुव्वामेव णाय करेंति—NC. 3, p 203, also *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 786.
2. Vimalasūri, *Paumacariya*, 37 1.
3. *Harṣacarita*, vv 59, 160, 169, 179; Beal, op cit., 1, p. 215
4 NC. 3, p. 203.
5 NC. 3, p 507.
6. कोसो जहिं रयणादियं दव्वं—NC. 1, p. 52.
7. NC 2, p. 109.
8. कोट्ठागारो जत्थ सालिमाइ धण्णं—NC. 1, p. 52.
9. "संट्ठाणं" ति वण्ण-णेवत्थं—Ibid

(*śrīgṛha*)[1] from the fact that treasury was the primary source of prosperity and grandeur (*śrī*) to the State.

Revenue and Taxation

For the maintenance of the rich royal treasury the State had a regular Department of Revenue and Taxation which worked out all the financial problems of the State. Agriculture being the main occupation of the people, the land-revenue was the main basis of the State's income. The percentage of the land-revenue is not mentioned in the text. However, it would not be incorrect to assume that the State must have followed the ancient practice of charging one-sixth, one-eighth or one-tenth of the produce.[2] Next to the land-revenue were the commercial taxes. Every article of trade was taxed by the State. There were regular check-posts or custom-houses (*suṁkaṭhāṇa*)[3] situated at the gate of a town or village where all the commodities of trade were checked (*paricchitta*) and taxed by the toll-superintendents or custom-officers designated as *suṁkiya* (*śaulkika*).[4] The percentage of taxation must have differed from State to State. In the NC., we find an example of a merchant, who had twenty carts loaded with vessels as giving away the twentieth part of it (*viṁsati-bhāga*), i. e. one full cart of vessels to the toll-officers as royal tax [5] The trade-articles were fully checked and reloaded (*āruhaṇa-*

1. NC 2, p. 18; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 6, p 1318
2. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* (I, p. 128) mentions one-sixth of the land-produce as the legal land-tax. According to Gautama (x. 24), it could be either one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth of the land-produce. See also—*Manusmṛti*, VII. 130 ff
3. सुंकठाणे सुंकिओ उवट्ठितो-"सुंकं देहि" त्ति—NC 4, p. 344 The custom-houses have also been called *śulkamaṇḍapikā* in certain Jaina inscriptions—*Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha*, pt I, p 209.
4. NC 4, p. 344, NC 2, p. 97. *Śaulkika* or *śulkapāla* is the common designation of the custom-officers to be seen in the inscriptions as well as literature of the time—see *Bṛh Vṛ*. 4, p 1071, CII. III, No. 12, p. 52, note 3, EI. XIX, pp. 69 ff. They are called *śulkādhyakṣa* by Kauṭilya—*Arthaśāstra*, Bk II, Chap. 21.
5. NC 4, p. 344.

paccāruhaṇa)[1] at the check-posts, and the merchants trying to avoid the tolls were severely punished. Judicial fines considerably added to the State resources as most of the crimes committed could be cleared away in terms of fines.[2] The State had its full rights over the treasure-troves (*ṇihi*); a king is mentioned to have confiscated the whole property of a merchant who did not report to the king on finding out a treasure-trove.[3] A Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, was permitted to enjoy the whole of it as he reported to the king on the discovery of a similar treasure-trove.[4] The king also received regular tributes (*davva*)[5] from the feudatory kings. In the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* we find a king being attacked by his overlord for his failure to pay taxes (*kappaka*) in due time.[6]

Payment of Taxes—Taxes could be paid in cash or in kind (*hiraṇṇa* or *dhaṇṇa*).[7] A king, in the text, is mentioned to have punished three of his army-officers, who during the course of their campaign in the border regions happened to utilize thirty pots of corn each from the granaries of the king (*ahiva-raṇṇo koṭṭhāgāra*).[8] Evidently, the State granaries in the outlying areas of the State would have been maintained by the land-revenue paid by the people of that area. While it shows that the taxes were first gathered at towns and villages and a portion of it was reserved for the king or State, it also reveals that payment could be made in kind. Payment of one cart loaded with vessels by the merchant as a royal tax is also another example of paying the taxes in kind.[9] On the other hand, the terms like *khoda*, *ukkoḍa* or *akkhoḍa* are explained as money (*hiraṇṇādi davva*) that was to be necessarily paid to the

1. Ibid.
2. NC. 1, p 130, NC. 3, p. 48
3 NC. 4, p 345.
4. Ibid.
5. NC. 4, p. 131.
6. *Āva*. Cū. II, p. 190
7. NC 4, p. 280.
8 NC 4, p. 311
9 NC 4, p. 344

rājakula.[1] In a story a king is mentioned to have demanded *rūvagakara*[2] (taxes in the form of money) from the merchants, which shows that cash payment was preferred by the State.

The king was solely responsible for the settlement of any dispute of the taxes and he was authorised to postpone payment or even to remit the taxes. The kings were kind enough to give a grace period upto three months for paying the taxes,[3] at the end of which non-payers were liable to be punished. An inscription from South India also reveals, "the State did not wait for more than three months, at the end of this period it would sell away the property of the defaulters."[4] Taxation was hereditary in nature, that is it could be levied from the son after the death of his father (*puttānuputtio karo*).[5] Sometimes the subjects altogether refused to pay taxes to the king. Five hundred merchants of Sopāraya are mentioned to have defied the king to pay the taxes, and consequently they were ordered to be burnt alive by the king.[6]

Forced Labour—Besides these regular taxes, the custom of forced labour (*vetthi-karana*)[7] was also prevalent. The poor people unable to pay the taxes in cash or kind were forced to provide physical labour in return of the protection they received from the State. Prevalence of the forced labour (*viṣṭi*) is revealed from the contemporary Maitraka records.[8] Yuan Chwang also found it sparingly exacted in some of the States.[9] With the help of the regular taxes being paid by every capable member of the State and with the additional labour provided by others, the States of the time must have been

1. खोड णाम ज रायकुलस्स हिरण्णादि दव्व दायव्वं—NC 4, p 280, also *Vyavahāra Ṭīkā*—see *Pāiya Sadda Mahannava*, pp 15, 280
2. "एते रूवगकर मग्गिज्जति"—NC 4, p 14
3. तं (खोडं) रायणुग्गहेण मज्जायाए भजतो एक्क दो तिण्णि वा सेवति—NC 4, p. 280.
4. Altekar, op cit, p. 195
5. पुत्ताणुपुत्तिओ करो भविस्सई, ण देमो—NC 4, p. 14
6. Ibid.
7. NC 4, p 280
8. CII. III, p 170; also Virji, op. cit., p. 243.
9. Watters, op cit, 1, p. 167, Beal, op. cit., 1, pp. 87-88

financially strong to meet out the requirements of the king and the subjects.

Judiciary and Courts

Judiciary was of primary importance for the maintenance of law and order in the State. King was evidently the head of the same and his judgement could not be over-ruled.[1] The kings were advised to refrain from inflicting severe punishments (*ati-ugga-daṇḍa*).[2] Just punishment was demanded on the part of the king.[3] The monks were not to approach the king directly to settle any grievances. They were required to approach the village-officer or the village-headman (i.e. *grāmavyāpṛtaka*, *grāmakūṭa* or *grāmamahattara*) first, then the *bhojika*, thereafter the *mahābalādhikṛta* or *amātya* and lastly the king.[4] The king was to be approached only as a last resort, as his judgement would be final and the punishment inflicted by him could be the most rigorous.[5] It evidently shows that besides the royal court, there were village-tribunals or city-tribunals, and that the appeal could be filed in the higher courts till it reached the highest, i.e. the royal court.[6] Somadeva also informs that "cases decided in the village-tribunals or city-tribunals could be put before the king for appeal, and there was no higher court to approach to over-rule the judgement of the king."[7]

For the administration of justice the king was assisted by a chief justice at the centre designated as *karaṇapati*.[8] Under

1 NC 4, p 331
2 NC 3, p 507
3 See—*Kāmandaka Nitisāra*, II 37, *Manu* VII 20
4 NC 2, p 183, cf *Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p 1249
5. एषां (भोइगादीण) पूर्वं निवेद्यते, न राज्ञ', मा गुरुदंडो भविष्यति–NC. 2, p. 183, cf. नृपस्य तु न निवेद्यते, गुरुः गरीयान् सर्वस्वहरणादिको दण्डो भवेदिति–*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1249.
6. भोइकस्स भोइको, तस्स वि जो अण्णो उत्तरोत्तरेण जाणाविज्जति जाव पच्छिमो राय त्ति —NC. 2, p. 182; cf. *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1249
7. ग्रामे पुरे वा वृत्तो व्यवहारस्तस्य विवादे तथा राजानमपेयात्। राज्ञा दृष्टे व्यवहारे नास्त्यनुबन्धः—\ *itivā*, p. 302.
8. NC. 4, p. 305.

the *karaṇapati* worked a number of officials called *kāraṇikas*,[1] whose status must have been that of the judges or magistrates. Two different terms, i.e. the *rājakaraṇa*[2] or *rājakulakaraṇa*[3] and the *karaṇasālā*,[4] are mentioned to denote the courts. It would not be improbable to assume that while the former denoted the royal court, the latter indicated the other courts in general. *Karana* is the usual term used for the courts in the literature of the time, and the judges were known as *kāranikas*.[5] The *kāranikas* have also been called *pañcakulikas* in the contemporary Jaina texts [6]

Law-suits and Their Procedure—The legal proceedings were usually termed as *vavahāra* [7] Regarding its procedure we are informed that after filing an appeal in the court, the plaintiff was made to repeat his case thrice by the *karaṇapati* to ascertain the correctness of the case.[8] If the words uttered by the plaintiff were repeated thrice without any faltering or change, then the case was considered to be just and worthy of consideration by the court. According to the ancient authorities the judgement could never be given by a single person[9] and the mention of the word *kāraṇika* in plural[10] shows the same practice to have been observed during this time. The authorities were to take into account all available evidences before giving their judgement. The witnesses (*sākṣī*)[11], sureties

1. NC. 2, pp. 18, 83
2. जहा कोइ पुरिमो अण्णातितो रायकरणं उवट्ठितो—NC 4, p. 305
3. राउले करणे उवट्ठिताणि तत्थ कारणियाण ववहारा दिज्जंति—NC 2, p 18
4. करणसालाए रोहिण्सु ववहारेज्जमाणेसु छेदो—NC 3, p 200
5. कारणिएहि भणियं—*Samarāiccakahā*, Vol 1, p. 86
6. Ibid, pp 210-13
7. NC. 2, p 18, NC 3, p. 200.
8. कहिए करणपती भणति–पुणो कहेहि, कहिए पुण ततियवारा कहाविज्जइ, जति तिसु वि सरिसं तो जाणति—सब्भावो कहिओ, अह विसरिसं तो जाणती करणपती, एस पलिउंचियं कहेइ त्ति—NC 4, p 305
9. *Śukranīti*, IV 5 5-6
10. NC. 2, pp. 18, 83, *Samarāiccakahā*, Vol 1, p. 86
11. इह साक्षी प्रतिभू वा गृह्यते—NC. 3, p 105, also NC. 3, p 106. According to

(*pratibhū*)[1] and the written documents (*leha*) were considered as prime evidences. In spite of these elaborate rules, it cannot be definitely stated as to how far these rules were put into practice by the State-officers. Very often we find the State-officers being bribed (*ukkoḍa*) by the wealthy citizens.[2] The friends and relatives of the king usually took undue advantage of their higher social status.[3] The false-witnesses (*kūḍa-sakkhi*, *alīka-sakkhi*)[4] and the fabrication of forged documents (*kūḍaleha*)[5] were common. There were people who readily agreed to give false witnesses in court in order to earn money.[6]

Filing a case in the court was indeed a costly affair. The poor people having no money were unable to lodge a complaint in the court and were "even turned out of the court by the *dūtagas* or the servants or guards of the court".[7] A similar statement is found in a contemporary work, the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, in the remarks of Devasomā when she says: "Why this man has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many monasteries and with it he can stuff the mouth of the court-officials at pleasure. I am the maid of a poor Kāpālika whose only wealth is snake's skin and sacred ash, and what riches have I that I should go to the court ?"[8] The legal proceedings in the court being a costly affair, people must have tried to settle the disputes with the arbitration of the village-elders or the

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Pāṇini, *sākṣī* was the one who was an eye-witness (V 2. 91) and surety was called *pratibhū* in relation to the loan for which he was bound as surety (II 3 30)—Vide Agrawala, V S , *India as known to Pāṇini*, p 417

1 See above note

2 NC 3, p 274, also अपभू वा…अत्थपदाणेग पभुणा कारवेति—NC 3, p. 53

3 Ibid

4 NC 1, pp 101-2.

5 NC 3, p. 361

6. जहा कोइ लंचं लभीहामि त्ति अलियं सक्खेज्जं वदति—NC 1, p. 101, जे लोमाभिभूता दव्वं घेत्तूण कूडसक्खित्तं करेंति—NC. 1, p. 102

7. अध सो दरिद्दो रायकुलं गच्छति, दूतगेण कड्ढति, तत्थ धणक्खतो भवति, द्व्वाभावात्तं ण करोति फेल्लो दरिद्दो, तस्स तेण कप्पति—NC 3, p. 274.

8 *Mattavilāsa-prahasana*, p. 31.

elders of the caste or guild. Indeed, the NC. refers to a meeting of the caste of Brāhmaṇas who assembled to decide punishment for a Brāhmaṇa who had beaten a bullock to death.[1] The merchant communities and the other castes must have followed the same practice. As a last resort only people went to the court, though the number of law-suits filed in the court does not appear to be any way small. It is, however, evident that the legal code was elaborate and strong, though the authorities at times did not conform to the rules.

Crimes—The court had to deal with all types of cases including criminal cases. Important amongst them were the cases of theft, robbery, adultery, murder, non-execution of the king's order and treason against the State or king. Theft and robbery were the most frequent crimes of the time. There was a class of people who had no profession other than stealing.[2] The organized bands of the Mleccha thieves and bandits used to reside on the hill areas surrounding the Malwa region[3] They had their own settlements known as *corapallī* or *stenapallī*[4] and they attacked the people in groups, drove away their cattle, deprived them of their belongings and burnt the villages. The army help was often resorted to eradicate such disturbances.[5] The general offences of theft, however, were grouped under three categories[6]. theft of the horses, elephants, jewellery and kidnapping king's harem-inmates was regarded to be the worst offence, theft of the cows and buffaloes or theft performed by making breaches in the walls (*khattakhana*) and kidnapping the maid servants was regarded as the second degree offence, theft performed in the houses of the ordinary citizens (*pāhiya-jana-mosaga*) for objects like food or drink was the third type of offence[7] This classification of theft is

1. ताहे सो बभणो गोवज्झविसोहणत्थ धिज्जातियाण मुवट्ठितो—NC 3, p 150
2. तदेविक्क करोतीति तक्करो, नो अन्न किं चि किसिमादी करोतीति—NC. 3, p 259
3. बोहिगा मालवादिमेच्छा, ते पव्वयमालेसु ठिया माणुसाणि हरंति—NC 4, p. 124.
4. NC 3, p. 217.
5. NC. 2, p 61

apparently based upon the nature of the object stolen away by a person, and the punishment differed accordingly. Death (*mārana-danda*), either by mutilating the head or impaling, is stated to have been the only punishment for stealing jewels from the royal treasury.[1]

Next to the theft and robbery was the act of adultery. Sexual relationship with any one except the wife was regarded as the most heinous crime on the part of a person. Adultery with the virgins or the ladies of the respectable families or the inmates of the royal harem[2] was more condemned than that with the widows or maid servants.[3] Mention has been made of the mythological story of Indra's seduction of Uḍamka Risi's wife for which he was cursed with the sin of *Brahma-hatyā*,[4] one of the five great crimes[5], by the sage. The person charged with adultery was taken around the city after being censured and beaten, his head shaven off and his penis mutilated.[6] This was an usual punishment for this sort of crime.

Murder was a serious crime and was severely dealt with. In the text, an instance can be found where three sons of a king devised to murder the king in order to seize the kingdom They, however, did not succeed in their plans and were severely punished by the king for their treacherous action.[7]

Non-execution of the king's order was also a grave offence. King being the absolute ruler of the State, his orders were

1. रण्णा रयणहारि त्ति काउ···तस्स मारणदंडो एवको आणत्तो–NC. 4, p. 343, also NC 2, p 18.
2. NC. 4, p 19, NC. 2, pp. 379-80
3 Ibid , also NC 2, p. 379.
4. NC 3, p. 340; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, pp. 543-44.
5. According to Manu the *pañcamahāpātakani* or five great crimes are: (i) slaying a Brâhmana, (ii) drinking intoxicating liquor, (iii) theft of the gold belonging to a Brâhmana, (iv) adultery with the wife of a spiritual preceptor and (v) associationing with any one guilty of these crimes—*Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, IX. 235 and XI. 55-59.
6. परदारे बहु दोसा, णगरगमण डडणं सडण तज्जणं ताडणं लिंगच्छेदादि च पावति— NC. 3, pp. 581-82.
7. NC. 3, p. 48

supposed to be indisputable by the subjects. We observe a king issuing a command to his subjects to take shelter under the fort during the invasion of a non-Āryan king. Most of the persons disobeying the order were killed by the enemy's forces, while the rest were severely punished by the king himself for not obeying his orders.[1] Cāṇakya is also mentioned to have ordered the people of a village to be burnt alive for disobeying the commands of their master–the king Candragupta.[2] Persons causing slightest doubt in the mind of the king were immediately imprisoned and even executed. Treason against the king or State *(rāyāpakāra)*[3] was not tolerated. It included the offences like entering the king's harem without his permission, stealing royal property or kidnapping the members of the royal family[4], working against the interests of the State by acting as a spy courier[5] or by writing false documents *(kūḍaleha)*[6] or making an effort to create dissensions among the members of the royal council[7] etc. Among the general crimes against the State, non-payment of taxes to the king,[8] using false weights *(kū latūla)* and false measures *(kū ḍamāṇa)*,[9] giving false witness in the court *(kūḍasakkhi)*[10] and transgression of the moral and legal code were the important ones.

Punishments—The nature and severity of punishment was based upon the gravity of the crime and its nature Various types of punishments like censure or reproach *(durvacana-khımsanā)*, fines and confiscation of property *(bhogaharaṇa)*,

1. ते पुण रण्णा आणाभंगो मम कओ त्ति···डडिता—NC 4, p 229
2. NC 4, pp 10-11.
3. NC 3, p 261, also p 37
4. NC 3, pp. 261-62
5. दूतत्तणेण वा विरोहो कतो—NC. 3, p 262
6. कूडलेहेण वा रायविरुद्ध कयं—NC 3, p 262.
7. NC 2, p 233.
8. NC. 4, p. 14.
9. NC. 1, p. 115
10. NC 1, pp 101-2

physical torture or corporal punishment (*śarīra-tāḍana*), imprisonment (*niggahabaṁdha*), banishment from the State or kingdom (*nirvāsita*) and death (*māraṇa-daṇḍa*) are frequently mentioned in the text.[1] Censure or reproach (*durvacana*[2]-*khiṁsaṇā*[3]) must have been a mild punishment for ordinary offences. Almost all the crimes could be cleared away in terms of fine and it was a regular source of State income. Frequent references to fines and confiscation of property[4] reveal that they were most commonly administered punishment of the time.

Physical punishment (*sārīra*)[5] was not uncommon. Amongst the various forms of corporal punishment, mutilation of the various limbs of body[6], i. e hands, feet, ears, nose, penis etc.[7], blinding the eyes or extracting them out with a hot iron stick (*tattasalāgā*)[8], putting to fetters (*nigaḍa-bandha*)[9], torture with an instrument (*janta-pīḍaṇa*)[10] and beating with lashes (*kaśāghāta*)[11] have been frequently mentioned in the text. From another contemporary Jaina work we learn that the eyes were extracted and the tongue

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1 Eight kinds of punishment are recorded in the Jaina tradition These are Expression of regret, prohibition, reproach, reprimand, confinement to a certain district, imprisonment, corporal punishment and fine—*Samarāiccakahā*, p. 358, vide—Choudhary, op cit, p. 371. For similar references to crime and punishment in certain Jaina texts see—Prof. Kālipāda Mitra's article 'Crime and Punishment in Jaina Literature', IHQ., Vol. 15, pp. 75-89, also LAI., pp 66-74.

2. दुव्वयण-घाय-बधाइएहिं उत्तावेति मारेंति वा—NC. 2, p. 233.

3. तस्स भोगहरण-बधण-ताडण-खिसणा य सव्वे पकारा कता—NC. 3, p. 48.

4 Ibid.; NC. 1, p. 130

5. मम दंडं सारीरं वा णिग्गह करेहि—NC. 4, p. 362.

6. कण्णच्छिन्न-नास-कर-पादकिरंगिते वा—NC. 3, p. 200, कण्ण-णास-णयणुप्पायणं वा करेज्ज, एय विरूवकरणं—NC. 4, p 13; also *Samarāiccakahā*, p. 289, also p. 95, *Yaśastilakacampū*, 3. 408

7. NC. 3, p 582.

8. अक्खराहियस्स वा उप्पाडिज्जाणि, तत्तसलागाए वा अंजिज्जाणि—NC. 3, p. 269.

9. णिगडादितो बंधो—NC. 3, p. 202.

10. जंतेण वा पीलति—NC. 3, p. 56.

11. कसघातादितो वहो—NC. 3, p. 202.

severed as a punishment for putting a false charge of theft.[1] For criminally assaulting any woman of the royal house-hold the guilty person's hands and feet were amputated, and he was pierced on a pale or killed with one stroke of a sword.[2] Yuan Chwang's statement that "corporal punishment was non-existent" and that "torture was not used to elicit confession"[3] is contradicted by himself when he states that on violating "the rules of property, justice, fidelity and filial piety, the nose and ears of the person were cut off, his hands or feet amputated, or he was expelled from the country or was driven to the wilderness of the deserts."[4]

Imprisonment for violating the legal code was a common punishment. Although the imprisonment (*bandha*)[5] is frequently mentioned, no details regarding prisons (*bandhāgāra*) are to be found from the text. Prisoners, however, were released (*bamdhanāgārasodhaṇa*)[6] on certain auspicious occasions Yuan Chwang also informs us that "for certain crimes the offenders were imprisoned"[7] and that "on auspicious occasions like the birth of a child the king ordered a general release of the prisoners"[8]

Banishment from the village, town, state or country was another common punishment.[9] Two different forms of this punishment appear to have been in vogue. Usually the respectable citizens and the Brāhmanas[10] were only expelled from

1. *Samarāiccakahā*, Vol I, preface p. XXXIV.
2. Ibid, pp 165-75.
3. Beal, op. cit., 1, pp 84-85, Watters, op cit, 1, p. 172.
4. Vide—Beni Prasad, op cit., p 371
5. NC 3, pp 56, 202
6. बधणागारसोधणे मुक्को—NC 3, p 261
7. Watters, op cit., 1, pp 83, 264
8. Beal, op cit., 1, p 188
9. संथारगपभू रण्णा णिव्विसतो कतो—NC. 2, p 153, वसहि-णिवेसण-गाम-णगर-देस-रज्जातो वा णिच्छुभति—NC 3, p 56
10. From Yuan Chwang we learn that five hundred Brāhmanas were simply exiled by Harsa for making a conspiracy against him, although his ministers and feudatories demanded an extermination of the whole tribe.—Beal, op. cit, 1, pp. 220-21.

the State without being subjected to any public humiliation; sometimes they were even allowed to take their property with them. The ordinary citizens or the victims of some serious crime, however, were often taken around the city on an ass or horse, and then subjected to public humiliation. They were then turned out of the city and their property confiscated by the State [1] In the *Samarāiccakahā*, we find the king banishing Cakkadeva, the son of Apratihatacakra, for stealing gold articles of the merchant Caṁḍamāna.[2]

Death was the last penalty that could befall the fate of a victim. Various forms of corporal punishment *(māraṇadaṁḍa)*[3] like mutilation of head or impaling[4], poisoning, exposing the body to crows and vultures[5], or burning a criminal alive in the fire[6], are mentioned in the text. The legal code for the criminals was thus harsh and rigorous, although the wealthy citizens and the persons of higher social standing can be observed in attempting to escape punishment by bribing the judicial authorities, or by pleasing the king.

There might have been other departments also, but the above mentioned were the important ones as can be judged from the respective designations of the officers mentioned in the text This fairly large and comprehensive list of the State-officers presupposes a full-fledged scheme of administration. Assisted by this official hierarchy at the centre, the king must have efficiently ruled from the capital *(rāyahāṇī)*.[7]

Administrative and Territorial Units

For a proper administration the States were divided into various manageable units. Various units like *gāma*, *pura*,

1. The commentary on *Uttarādhyayana* informs us that a person charged with adultery was banished from the town by the king in such a manner (23, pp. 285 f.; also LAI, p. 701).
2. *Samarāiccakahā*, Vol. 1, preface pp XXXII-XXXIV.
3. NC. 4, p. 343.
4. NC. 2, p 18.
5. NC. 3, p. 292
6. NC. 4, pp. 10-11.
7. रायाधिट्ठिता रायहाणी—NC. 2, p. 328.

Bagumrā Grant of Nikumbhallaśakti of 654-55 A. D. from Southern Gujarat also discloses *rāṣtra* as an administrative division under the officer *rāṣtrakūṭa*.[1] In spite of this mention of the *rāṣtra* and its officer, not a single *rāṣtra* is named either in our text or in any of the inscriptions forthcoming from Gujarat.[2] However, this unit, if ever in existence, was smaller than the *viṣaya*, as in the context of mentioning the names of the heads of the various administrative units in the text, the *grāmamahattara*, the *rāṣtramahattara*, the *bhojika* and the *visayārakkhiya*[3] are mentioned in a consecutive order. The same fact is revealed from the Kāvi Grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭṭa (486 A. D.), which refers to the *viṣayapati*, the *rāṣtrapati* and the *grāmamahattara* respectively,[4] and thus indicates their official status in descending order.[5] According to Beni Prasad, the *rāṣtra* was perhaps a revenue division[6], while according to Virji, *rāṣtra* was just another name of *āhāra* and that *rāṣtrapati* must have been the head of this unit.[7] The NC. refers to only one *āhāra*, viz. the *Kosambāhāra*,[8] but no details regarding the formation of this unit are to be found in our text.

From the various references in the text it is clear that *viṣaya* was the largest and the most common administrative unit during this time, although the units like *bhukti*, *janapada*, *mandala*, *deśa* and *rāṣtra* are also mentioned in the text. This is also corroborated by the contemporary Maitraka records. Virji has also pointed out : "Even if the designations given to these units are not same, very little

1. *Ind Ant.* XVIII (1889), p 265, Beni Prasad, op cit., p. 382.
2 Sankalia, op cit , p. 198, Virji, op. cit., p. 231.
3 NC 2, p. 101
4. IA. V, p 114.
5 Virji, op cit , p 237.
6. Beni Prasad, op cit., p. 382.
7. Virji, op cit., p 237.
8. NC. 2, p. 361. The unit *āhāra* was common in Kathiawar, C I and U.P In the Nausari Plates of Śryāśraya (671 A. D) *āhāra* is mentioned as a division of *viṣaya*—EI. VIII, No 22.

difference existed between them."[1] It is also noteworthy to remember that "the old designation (like *viṣaya* and *deśa*) continued to be applied to, albeit the units very much diminished in size."[2]

The *viṣayas* were further divided in towns and villages. Various terms like *pura*[3], *purī*[4], *nagara*[5], *nagarī*[6], *paṭṭaṇa*[7], *doṇamuha*[8], *nigama*[9] etc. are mentioned to denote a town according to its geographical, political or economic situation. Though the term *pura* is itself a suffix, yet a practice of using both the suffixes, the *pura* and *nagara* together, can be seen in the text. In the usages like Ānandapuranagara[10], Andhapuranagara[11], Daśapuranagara[12], Kampillapuranagara[13], Vārattapuranagara[14] etc., the *pura* is being taken as part of the word and the *nagara* is added as a suffix. *Paṭṭanas* were the towns having a flourishing trade. Ānandapura is mentioned as a famous *thalapaṭṭaṇa*.[15] *Doṇamuhas* were the towns where trade by land and waterways were carried out.[16] Besides, there were towns exclusively inhabited by the merchants or trade-guilds, and these were

1. Virji, op cit., p. 236.
2. Ibid., p. 235.
3. NC. 2, pp. 357, 269, 503.
4. NC. 2, pp. 95, NC. 3, p. 295.
5. NC. 2, p. 382; NC 3, p. 346, NC. 1, p. 105.
6. NC. 3, p 419, NC. 2, p. 417.
7. NC. 2, p 382, NC 3, p. 346.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. NC. 3, p. 268.
11. NC. 3, p. 269.
12. NC. 3, p. 441.
13. NC. 2, p. 21.
14. NC. 4, p. 158.
15. जलपट्टणं पुरिमाती, थलपट्टणं आणंदपुराति—NC. 2, p. 328, also NC. 3, p. 346, *Brh. Vr.* 2, pp. 342-43.
16. जलेण थलेण दोसु वि मुहं दोणमुहं—NC. 2, p. 328.

known as the *nigamas*.[1] *Sthalī*[2] is another unit mentioned in the text. This unit seems to have existed only in Kathiawar under the Maitrakas of Valabhī.[3] It is not clear as to which administrative area did this unit correspond. Perhaps, it was also another designation of a town based upon its natural geographical area.[4] In the text we find that Vārattapura, which is once called *pura*[5] or *nagara*, has also been called *sthalī (Vāratthalī)*[6] at another place. These towns consisted of a number of villages *(gāma)* which were the smallest administrative units. *Pallī*[7] is yet another term mentioned in the text. It seems to have been a small village, especially a settlement of the wild tribes[8], as can be judged from the words like *teṇapallī* or *corapallī*[9] etc. According to Śukra, however, the word *palli* denoted "the half of the village".[10]

Administration in Sub-divisional Units

The scheme of general administration in the sub-divisional units was quite similar to that of the centre, although naturally on a quite lower grade. These units were presided over by a representative of the king or were ruled by the feudatory kings. The *visayārakkhiya* and the *desārakkhiya* or *desakutta* were the corresponding heads of the *visaya* and *deśa*.[11] As the designation itself suggests, their main duty was to protect the people of the *viṣaya* or *deśa*. They did perform judicial functions also, as the citizens and monks

1 वाणिया जत्थ केवला वसति णिगम—NC 2, p 328, also NC 3, p 341, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, pp 342-43.
2 NC 3, p. 117
3 Sankalia, op. cit , p 194, note 6, also Virji, op cit , p 239.
4 Ibid.
5. NC. 4, p 158
6. NC 3, p. 442
7. NC. 3, p. 123.
8. SED., p 610, also *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*, p. 729.
9. NC. 3, p. 217.
10 *Śukranīti*, I 193
11. NC. 2, p. 183; also देसस्स देसकुट्टो वा, देसव्यापृतको वा—NC. 3, p 57.

could be seen taking all their complaints to them.[1] In short, it can be stated that endowed with the authority of the king these governors or representatives of the king performed all the functions of the State with the help of their junior officers.

Feudatory Kings and Their Councils

The States had a federal character and the kings usually had a large number of feudatory kings (*sāmantarāyāṇo*)[2] under them who in turn had their own with the permission of their overlord Though legally ruling under the overlordship of the sovereign, these feudatories were quite autonomous in the internal administration of their State. The feudatory rulers had their own courts and councils Mention has been made of a meeting of the council (*sabhā*) of the feudatory rulers[3] where they asked the members if any one of them could succeed in capturing the mighty horse of their sovereign which had made him invulnerable in battlefield Sometimes we find the sovereigns marching against the unruly feudatories[4] It can thus be judged that the feudal kings were always trying to assert their power even at the expense of their overlord [5]

Town Administration

Kottapāla or *setthī*[6] was the highest authority in a town. He is mentioned as a protector of the town,[7] and was invested with a golden *patta*[8] with the permission of the king. The

1. NC. 2, pp. 182-83.
2. NC. 4, p. 304. The *Śukranīti* defines a feudatory or *sāmanta* as a ruler whose revenue ranged from one to three lacs of silver coins or he was the chief who had 100 villages under him (1. 182, 1 190). In the *Harṣacarita* (p.170) a number of feudatories are seen waiting for an audience of the suzerain On his death-bed Prabhākaravardhana charged Harsa inter-alia to make prize of feudatory kings (p. 188).
3. ताहे सामनरायाणो अप्पप्पणो सभासु भणेंति—NC. 4, p. 304.
4. *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, 11, p. 190.
5. NC. 4, p 304.
6. पुरस्स सेट्ठी कोट्टवालो वा—NC. 3, p 57
7. NC. 2, pp. 234, 267.
8. NC. 2, p. 450.

Isvara[1], *talvara*[2] and *mādambiya*[3] also appear to have been the leaders of certain groups of villages. Administration in the towns seems to have differed according to the geographical, political or economic situation of a town. In the *nigamas* or towns exclusively inhabited by the merchants, the administration was solely run by the members of the merchant communities and their Head or President was directly responsible to the king[4] The *setthī* and *satthavāha* have been frequently mentioned as the executive officers in a town.[5] Though the king was ultimately responsible for the over-all administration in the State, it is evident that the popular element also played a great part in the administration of the lower units.

Village Administration

Grāma or village was the smallest administrative unit[6] This was virtually the basis of the whole administration The village-headman has been variously called *mahattara*[7], *grāmamahattara*[8], *grāmakūṭa*[9], *grāmabhojika*[10] or *bhojika*[11] in the text. In administration he was always assisted by a senior village-officer known as *grāmavyāpṛtaka*[12] It seems

1. ऐश्वर्येण युक्त. ईश्वरः, सो य गामभोतियाादपट्टबधो--Ibid
2. रायप्रतिमो चामरविरहितो तलवरो--Ibid.
3. जो छिण्णमंडवं भुंजति सो माडबिओ—Ibid In the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya Tīkā* (4 52) *Mādambiya* is explained as a leader of *Maḍamba* which consisted of eighteen thousand villages
4. NC. 4, p 14.
5. NC. 2, pp 267, 450, NC. 3, p. 489.
6. NC. 2, p. 183, NC 3, p. 57. For the constituents of a village see—*Bṛh. Bhā.* 1096-1100; also LAI., p. 82.
7. NC. 2, pp. 144, 183; *Harṣacarita*, p. 84; various Jaina inscriptions refer to the *mahattaras* or *mahattamas* of a village—see *Jaina Śilālekha Saṅgraha*, 1, pp. 248, 249 and 266.
8. महत्तरो ग्रामकूटः ग्रामे महत्तर इत्यर्थ· —NC. 2, p. 183.
9. Ibid.
10. NC. 2, p 450.
11. NC. 2, p. 81. A Grant of Ranagraha of the year 640 A.D. shows a *bhojika* acting as *dūtaka*—*EI.* II, No. 4, EI. V, No. 5.
12. NC. 2, p. 183.

that the *grāmamahattara* was merely a village-elder, while *grāmavyāpṛtaka* was the officer actually entrusted with the duty of performing all the executive functions of the village.[1] From the Valabhī inscriptions it appears that the *mahattara* during this time was regarded no more than a village-elder.[2] *Thakkura*[3] is another village-officer mentioned only once in the text. It appears to have been a later designation of the village-headman, as he is frequently mentioned in the subsequent records from Gujarat.[4]

Village-Council (Grāmapariṣad)

The villages had their own councils called *grāmapariṣads*[5] which solved all the problems of the villagers. *Āgaṁtāgāra* was the place where the meetings of the village-council were held.[6] Meetings, however, could take place in a hall *(sabhā)*[7], in a temple, or even under a tree. The house-holders *(gihattha—kuḍumbiya)* frequently took part in the proceedings of the village-council.[8] We, however, get no information from the text to enable us to ascertain if all the house-holders were allowed to attend the meetings of the village-council.

The members of the village-council must have formed a smaller cabinet for the proper administration of the village. In the context of a *goṭṭhī (goṣṭhī*—a social gathering*)*, we are informed that the *goṣṭhīs* were presided over by five village-officers,[9] who were specially honoured by the villagers. There

1. "किच्चकरे" ति ग्रामकृत्ये नियुक्तः, ग्रामव्यापृतक इत्यर्थ.—Ibid.
2. Sankalia, op cit, p. 20.
3. NC 4 p 312.
4. *Thakkura* is often mentioned in the Caulukyan inscriptions—Sankalia, op cit, p. 203
5. NC. 2, p 99.
6. आगतारो जत्थ आगारी आगंतु चिट्ठंति तं आगंतागारं । गामपरिसट्ठाणं ति वुत्त भवति–NC. 2, p. 199.
7. सद्म्यः स्थानं सभा—NC. 3, p. 344.
8. NC. 2, pp 199, 200.
9. एतेहिं पंचहिं परिग्गहिता तदा पुव्वकाले घटातो आसि—NC. 2, p. 144; also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p 994.

is every reason to believe that the same practice must have continued even during this time in some form or the other. These five officers were : *mahattara, aṇu-mahattara, lalitāsaṇika, kaḍuga, daṇḍapati or daṇḍaga.*[1]

The *mahattara* was same as the *grāmamahattara* or the village-headman. He was consulted for all the activities during a *gotthī* and was given the highest seat.[2] The *anumahattara* was an assistant officer who performed the village-functions in the absence of the *mahattara.*[3] *Lalitāsanika* is another officer mentioned in this list, but his functions as an officer are not very clear. It was the custom to provide him with a high or beautiful seat during the *gotthī* and double amount of the food offered at the time of the *gotthi-bhatta.*[4] *Kaḍuga* was another officer who determined the type of punishments for the *gotthiyas* for any of their short-comings during a *gotṭhī.*[5] *Daṇḍapati* or *daṇḍaga* was the officer who administered the punishment decided upon by the former officer.[6]

These five officers must have formed the village cabinet which is now known to us as *pañcāyata.* Bāna in the 7th century A.D. alludes to the *pañcakula*[7] which may be taken as a variation of the technical term *pañcamaṇḍalī.*[8] The office of these officers must have been elective, and the money *(dhana)* or family *(kula)* is mentioned as the basis of their selection.[9] From the respective designations of these village-

1. Ibid
2. सव्वेसु उप्पज्जयमाणेसु गोट्ठिकज्जेसु पुच्छणिज्जो, गोट्ठिभत्त-भोयणकाले जम्म जेट्ठ-मासण धुरे ठविज्जति सो महत्तरो भण्णति—NC 2, p. 144
3. मूलमहत्तरे असणिगहिते जो पुच्छणिज्जो धुरे टायति सो अणुमहत्तरो—NC 2, p 144, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p 994
4. ललियासणियस्स आसण ललिय इट्ठ कज्जति, परिवेसिया इत्थिया कज्जति, इट्ठभाय णस्स दुगुणो भागो दिज्जति—NC 2, p. 144.
5. दोसावण्णस्स गोट्ठियस्स दंडपरिच्छेयकारी कडुगो भण्णति—Ibid.
6. तं दडं उग्गमेति जो सो दडपती भण्णति, सो चेव दडओ भण्णति—Ibid.
7. *Haṁsacarita*, p 255.
8. Saletore, op. cit , p. 303.
9. तेसु वा गामादिसु धणकुलादिणा पहाणो—NC. 2, p. 101.

officers, it can be easily judged that most of the social, economic and even judicial functions were locally imparted by the village-officers and that the villagers enjoyed a favourable degree of internal autonomy in spite of the apparently monarchical character of the State.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL LIFE

Although composed in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., the *Niśītha Cūrṇi* embodies a considerable amount of material depicting ancient customs and traditions which might not belong to the period of its composition. In this chapter it will be our endeavour to evaluate and illustrate the multifarious aspects of social life by analysing the NC. and other contemporary sources with a view to reflect the life of that period.

Society

Similar to classical Sanskrit and Jaina Prakrit texts the NC. also marks a distinction between the Āryans and the non-Āryans,[1] the latter being variously called *Aṇāriyas*, *Mecchas* or *Dasus*.[2] People living inside the twenty-five and a half Āryan regions,[3] following Āryan customs and

1. For physical differences between the Āryans and the non-Āryans see—Senart, *Caste in India*, pp. 122 f
2. NC. 3, pp. 492, 518, NC 4, p 124.
3. According to the ancient tradition, the Jaina monks in the ancient times were allowed to move as far as Magadha in the east, Kośāmbī in the south, Thūṇā in the west and Kunālā in the north (*N. Bhā.* 5733, NC. 4, pp. 125-26) It was from the time of Samprati that Jainism spread in other regions and consequently the twenty-five and a half countries were declared as Āryan These were (1) Magadha, (2) Aṅga, (3) Vaṅga, (4) Kalinga, (5) Kāśī, (6) Kośala, (7) Kuru, (8) Kuśatta, (9) Pāñcāla, (10) Jāṅgala, (11) Suraṭṭha, (12) Videha, (13) Vaccha, (14) Saṇḍilla, (15) Malaya, (16) Vaccha, (17) Varaṇa, (18) Dasaṇṇa, (19) Cedi, (20) Sindhu-Sovira, (21) Sūrasena, (22) Bhaṁgi, (23) Purivaṭṭa, (24) Kuṇālā, (25) Lāḍa (Lādha) and (26) Kegaiaddha—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 913; LAI, p. 250.

speaking Āryan languages, were regarded as Āryans, while the non-Āryans dwelled outside these Āryan regions. They were called *paccaṁtiyas (prātyantikas)* as they inhabited on the outer fringes of the Āryan society.[1] The non-Āryans are described as wearing quaint dresses, following different customs and speaking various languages,[2] and indulging in indecent and violent activities.[3] Pointing towards the aboriginal habits of these people the author gives an interesting explanation of the word *Dasu*, that is the people who used to bite with their teeth when enraged.[4]

Caste System

The Āryan society was governed by the traditional order of the four Varnas *(cāuvvaṇṇa)*[5] which consisted of the *Bambhana, Khattiya, Vaisa* and *Sudda.*[6] Though fundamentally opposed to the Brāhmaṇical caste system, the Jaina lawgivers during these later centuries not only identified themselves with the essentials of the Varna organisation, but also produced a caste-system of their own which was not basically very different from the Brāhmanical caste system.[7] A rigid demarcation was

1 मगहादियाण अद्धछव्वीमाए आरियजणवयाणं, तेसि अण्णतर ठिया जे अणारिया ते पच्चतिया—NC. 4, p 124.

2 सगजवणादिअण्णण्णवेसभासादिट्ठिना विविधरूवा विरूवा—Ibid

3 हिसादिअकज्जकम्मकारिणो अणायरिया—Ibid In the *Vaśiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* (IV. 24) the Śūdras, who must have initially been the non-Āryans by caste, are characterised as hostile, violent, boastful, short-tempered, untruthful, extremely greedy, ungrateful, heterodox, lazy and impure. See—Sharma, R.S , *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 253.

4. आरुट्ठा दंतेहिं दंसति तेण दसू—NC. 4, p. 124.

5. NC. 3, p. 124. For the traditional division of the four Varnas, which can be traced from the time of Kauṭilya down to the Smṛti literature and also in the contemporary epigraphs, see—*Arthaśāstra*, Bk. 1, Ch. III, pp 6-7; *Laws of Manu*, Ch. 1, 88-90, and 4, 24 (Buhler); Watters, op cit., 1, p. 168; Beal, op. cit , 1, p 82; Alina Plates of Śilāditya (A.D. 766-67), CII III, No. 53, p 232 and No 39, p. 185, text p. 177.

6. जहा बंभणजातिकुलेसु···खत्तिएसु उग्गकुला, आदिसद्दातो वइस-सुद्देसु वि-.NC. 3,p. 413

7. Some of the contemporary Jaina texts provide a Jaina version of the origin of the Varṇas in which the origin of four Varṇas has been

made between the higher *(ibbha-jāi)*[1] and the lower castes *(jāti-juṁgita)*[2] and we also find people following lower arts-crafts *(kamma-juṁgita, sippa-juṁgita)*[3] whose entry to the Jaina church was restricted on social grounds.[4] Those belonging to the lower castes or following the lower arts and crafts were characterized as *abhojjas*[5] (outcastes interdining with whom was not permissible to the higher Varnas) and the Jaina monks were directed to keep themselves away from them. The Jaina Ācāryas during these centuries had become vehemently conscious of their social status; anything which could degrade them in the eyes of society was to be avoided by the Jaina monks. It was firmly believed that no one would like to embrace the monastic order of those who accepted food from the *abhojjas* (interdining with whom was not permissible), and that even religious-minded monks, who were initiated to the monkhood, would also get disgusted with being thought of as Śvapākas

associated with the limbs of the Ādi Jina. According to Jinasena, Ṛṣabhadeva himself took up weapons in his arm and trained people in wielding them, hence they *(Kṣatriyas)* were called as created by his arms He taught the people how to travel by thighs for earning livelihood by trade, hence they *(Vaniyakas)* came to be known as created from his thighs. He taught with his own feet how the people should serve others, therefore they *(Śūdras)* were said to have been created from his feet Then the *Brāhmaṇas* were taught with the mouth of Bharata how to study, teach and perform rituals, hence they were known to be created by his mouth *(Ādipurāṇa,* 16 243, *Paumacari ya,* 3.115-17; *Mahāpurāṇa,* 16 343-46, also *Ādipurāṇa,* 38-46*)* This account clearly reminds us of the Brāhmanical theory of the origins of four Varnas *(Ṛgveda,* 10 7. 90 12, *Mahābhārata,* Śāntiparva, 296. 5-6, *Manu.,* pp. 1, 31, see also—Pt Phūlacanda, *Jaina Dharma aura Varna-vyavasthā).*

1. मातिपक्खविसुद्धा इब्भजाइ— NC. 3, p. 29.
2 NC 3, p 270
3 NC 3, p 271.
4. NC. 3, pp 270-71, 448.
5 जे ति कुला जत्थ विमते जुंगिता…अभोज्जा—NC. 2, p. 243.

because of their association with the outcaste people.[1] The author has a firm conviction that "the religion (i.e. Church) flourishes by leaving aside the outcastes of society".[2]

Besides, like the Buddhist texts, many of the Jaina texts assign a higher status to the Ksatriyas by positioning them first in the order of the four Varnas.[3] In the NC., however, the author has described the ladies of the four Āryan Varnas in general conformity to the Brāhmanical order.[4]

Brāhmaṇas

(1) *Jaina Attitude towards Brāhmaṇas*—The Brāhmanas were the highest in order of the four Āryan Varṇas. They were respected and even worshipped by the other Varnas. However, being the members of the opponent faith, the Brāhmanas were held in contempt by the Jainas,[5] and any contact with them was barred to a Jaina monk. Very often the Brāhmaṇas were contemptuously called *dhijjāti*, i.e. belonging to a condemned caste,[6] by the Jainas, and rivalry among the two sects existed to that extent that the *Māhanas* (Brāhmanas) and the *Samanas* (which also included the *Nigganthas*) could never be seen as going out physically together.[7] But like the Brāhmaṇical texts which claim undisputed authority for the Brāhmaṇas, the information provided by the Jaina texts cannot be taken as reliable. However, it indeed shows that at least among a section of society the authority of the Brāhmanas did

1. अभोज्जसंपक्क कश्चित् प्रव्रजनीति एवं परिहाणी, अभोज्जेसु भक्तादिग्गहणं दृष्ट्वा धर्माभिमुखा पूर्वप्रतिपन्नगा वा विपरिणमते, श्वपाकादिसमाना इति जुगुप्सा—NC. 4, p. 132.
2. लोगे दुगुंछिया जे, ते परिहरतेण तित्थस्स वुड्ढी कता भवति—NC 2, p. 244
3. Jinasena, *Ādipurāṇa*, 16. 243, Vimalasūri, *Paumacariya*, 3 115-7.
4. तत्थ अदुगुंछिता बंभणी खत्तिया वेसि सुद्दा य—NC 4, p. 50.
5. Belonging to a different sect or religion has been considered to be one basis of untouchability in ancient India—Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. 2, pt 1, p. 188.
6. NC 1, pp. 13, 163, NC 2, p. 208, NC 3, pp 223, 418.
7. एते समणमाहणा परोप्पर विरुद्धा एगतो अडंति, ण एते जे वा, ते वा, णूणं एते चीरा, चारिया वा कामी वा—NC. 2, p. 119.

not go undisputed. In spite of an underlying effort to tarnish the image of the Brāhmanas and the other sects, in order to eulogise the character of the Jainas,[1] the various stories and instances unconsciously referred to by the author bring before us the real picture of the society.

(ii) *Divine Origin of the Brāhmaṇas*—The period from the end of the 3rd upto the 10th or 11th century A.D., or as it has been called the age of the Dharmaśāstras,[2] shows a remarkable development in glorification of the theory of imparting gift to the Brāhmanas who were regarded as human gods.[3] A similar position can also be judged from the NC. The Brāhmanas were popularly regarded to have been gods in heaven who were sent to earth by Prajāpati himself.[4] This concept of the Brāhmaṇas as being veritable gods upon this earth (*bhūdeva*[5]—*pratyakṣadeva*),[6] evidently re-echoes the spirit of the various Brāhmanical texts where it is stated: "Brāhmaṇas are the gods that are directly seen"[7] and also that "there are two kinds of gods, for indeed gods are gods but the Brāhmanas are the human gods".[8]

(iii) *Brāhmaṇas by Caste Alone*—Another important feature seen from the text is that the birth alone had now become the only criterion for belonging to a particular caste. The Brāhmaṇas were called *Brahmabandhu* because of their caste itself (*jātimātra-sampanna-Brahmabandhuṣu*).[9] According to the ancient injunctions, "a Brāhmana alone could be one with Brahma, for he alone was entitled to enter the fourth stage of life, viz. "asceticism". Bāṇa also enjoins that even to a Brāhmaṇa by

1. NC. 3, p. 142.
2. Ghurye, G S, *Caste and Class in India*, p 44
3. Ibid, p 91.
4. किं च एते दिवि देवा आसी, प्रजापतिना भूमौ सृष्टा देवा—NC. 3, p. 415.
5. Ibid, also श्राद्धामंत्रितै. भूदेवैः—*Yaśastilaka*, 88 5.
6. NC. 4, p. 55.
7. *Taittarīya Saṁhitā*, 1. 7. 31.
8. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE., Vol. 12, p 309 and Vol. 26, p. 341.
9. एतेषु जातिमात्रसंपन्नब्रह्मबंधुष्वपि दत्तं महत् फलं—NC 3, p. 415.

birth merely, uninitiated in heart, respect is due.[1] Mention has been made of the Brāhmanas who in spite of belonging to chaste Brāhmana family were not versed in Śrutis and Smṛtis or in the art of sacrifice.[2] Such Brāhmaṇas or the *Sottiya-puttas* (i.e. the sons of a Śrotriya), as they have been called in the NC.[3], may be compared with the *jāti-Brāhmaṇas* of Patañjali as according to him, "the person devoid of *tapas* and Vedic study is a Brāhmaṇa by birth alone."[4]

(iv) *Duties of the Brāhmaṇas*—The Brāhmaṇas formed the intellectual section of society; they were usually called as *ṣaṭkar-maniratas* (engaged in six activities).[5] The six duties of the Brāhmanas, enumerated in the NC., are : offering sacrifice *(yajana)*, performing sacrifice for others *(yājana)*, study *(adhy-ayana)*, teaching *(adhyāpana)*, giving gifts *(dāna)* and receiving gifts *(pratigraha)*.[6] These six duties of the Brāhmaṇas have been enumerated by Manu[7] who adds that receiving gifts was the principal means of their livelihood.

So far as the duties of study and teaching *(adhyayana, adhyāpana)* are concerned, the learned Brāhmanas acquired the knowledge of the 14 Vidyās or sciences by staying in the Gurukulas for a number of years.[8] Evidently, there must have been efficient Brāhmana teachers who imparted the sacred lore to the students. A highly appreciative account of the different

1. *Harṣacarita*, p. 7.
2. जातिकुलविसुद्धो वि·····"श्रुतिस्मृतिक्रियावर्जितो श्रोत्रिकः"—NC. 3, p. 412.
3. Ibid.
4. तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः —*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. 1, p. 411 and Vol II, p. 363.
5. अतिशयेन फलं भवति षट्कर्मनिरतेषु—NC. 3, p. 415.
6. तानि च यजनं याजनं अध्ययनं अध्यापनं दानं प्रतिग्रहं चेति—Ibid.; also *Paumacariya*, 105. 21; *Mahāpurāṇa*, 16..264.
7. अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा। दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्माण्यग्रजन्मनः ।। षण्णां तु कर्मणामस्य त्रीणि कर्माणि जीविका। याजनाध्यापने चैव विशुद्धाच्च प्रतिग्रहः ।।—*Mānavadharmaśāstra*, 10. 75-76.
8. NC. 3, pp. 92, 413; *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 8, p. 123.

activities of the Brāhmana teachers given by Yuan Chwang also points towards the same.[1]

The knowledge of the science of sacrifice *(homa, yajña)* was a must for the Brāhmaṇas who not only performed sacrifices for themselves *(yajana)* but also for others, for the security of the king as well as the subjects *(yājana)*. As priests they were employed by kings,[2] while the *Sottiyas* *(Śrotriya)* were a class of the house-holder Brāhmaṇa sacrificers who usually performed sacrifices for the public.[3] The Brāhmaṇas have been held in contempt for sacrificing goats.[4] This evidently shows that grand sacrifices must have been in vogue in which the animals were sacrificed.

The ideal extolled before the Brāhmaṇas was that of poverty and chastity. The Brāhmanas must have displayed their charity *(anugraha)* towards the people by helping them in various religious ceremonies held for self-purification, and also during the birth and death ceremonies.[5] Receiving gifts *(pratigraha)* was a proud privilege of the Brāhmanas. Once the theory of the divine origin of the Brāhmaṇas was accepted, imparting gifts to them was considered to bring great spiritual merit to the donor.[6] The king as well as the public was eager to secure their favours. The kings used to feed the Brāhmanas before launching a campaign to conquer the enemy *(paravijaya)* and for acquiring victory and maintaining peace in the State.[7] A king is shown as giving donations to the Brāh-

1. Watters, op cit 1, p 160.
2 NC 2, p. 267.
3 NC. 3, p 343, also p 413
4. जणे च्छगलाण गल वलेंति धिज्जातिया—NC 3, p. 429.
In the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri also Parvataka is mentioned as preaching that goats should be killed in sacrifices—Chandra, K. R, *A Critical Study of the Paumacariya* (unpublished thesis), p 598, *Manusmṛti* (3. 268-70) also refers to offering of the meat of goat for the liberation of the manes on the occasion of monthly Śrāddha
5 प्रायश्चित्तदान-सूतकविशुद्धि--हस्तग्रहणकरण, तथान्येषु ···लोकानुग्रहकारिण—NC. 3, p 415
6 Ibid.
7. जाहे परविजयट्ठा गच्छति ताहे मंगलसंतिणिमित्त दियादीणंभोयणं—NC. 2. p 461.

maṇas on every full-moon day of Kārtika. But, these pious and learned Brāhmaṇas, proud as they were of their knowledge and learning, never cared to bow down even before the kings. A learned Brāhmaṇa, being advised by others to visit the king and ask him for gifts, is seen as bluntly replying, should I accept gifts from a king going there uninvited? If the king desires the welfare of his forefathers and ancestors, he should come here himself to take me with him or send me the gifts here[1]. This shows the patronizing attitude with which they received gifts from the kings, and ensured that it was not a begging on their part, but a demand which was a mandatory duty on the part of the donor if he desired his own salvation.

Apart from the kings, the people also showed liberal charity towards the Brāhmanas by providing them with food and other requirements. Feeding the cows and the Brāhmaṇas was considerd to be an act of meritorious duty on the part of the donor.[2] The Brāhmaṇas were never refused alms during their begging-round.[3] In the month of Kārtika people broke their fast only after offering food to the Brāhmanas.[4] The Brāhmanas were respectfully called to perform the religious ceremonies on various auspicious and inauspicious occasions. Often they were invited to the Śrāddha ceremony when the food was offered to the dead ancestors.[5] The period of ten days impurity because of the birth or death in a particular family also ended after offering food to the Brāhmaṇas.[6] It is thus evident

1. NC. 3, p. 92. The Brāhmanic authorities lay down various restrictions upon the Brāhmanas and a Snātaka for accepting food or gifts from a king. According to Manu, a Brāhmaṇa was not to seek gifts from a king who was avaricious and transgressor of the rules of the Śāstras. —*Manu*. VII. 5 84, also VII. 13. 4.
2. यथा गवादीन् ब्राह्मणान् परिभोजयेत् (NC. 2, p. 315). According to the Smṛtis, feeding the Brāhmanas is one of the acknowledged ways of gaining religious merit (*Collection of Smṛtis*, p. 423; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 80. 55).
3. किं तुमो बभणों ! ताहे····इमस्सागतस्स अवस्सं भिक्ख देज्जह—NC. 3, p. 413
4. NC. 3, p. 418
5. NC. 3, p. 415; *Harṣacarita*, p. 164, text p. 175
6. NC. 3, p. 526.

that 'receiving gifts' (*pratigraha*) was the principal means of livelihood of the Brāhmanas, and the people also voluntarily reciprocated by offering their best possession to please these human gods in order to ensure their own welfare during the life-time and after.

(v) *Brāhmaṇas and Other Occupations*—Apart from these six duties which were specifically laid down, the Brāhmaṇas indulged in other activities also. They must have worked as astrologers or fortune-tellers (*nemittiya*) and mastered the science of medicine (*tegicchiya*). The Brāhmaṇas also went abroad with the caravans.[1] Besides, in spite of the Brāhmaṇic injunctions to the contrary, some of the poor Brāhmaṇas did embrace the occupation of agriculture in order to earn their livelihood.[2] They not only supervised the lands but also tilled by themselves. A Brāhmana is mentioned to have gone to the field (*kayāra*) to till the land with only one bullock.[3] It might be said that social and economic conditions, especially after a slow decline in the Vedic rites and rituals, must have forced the Brāhmaṇas to embrace other occupations, though the ideals regarding a true Brāhmana was still the same, i. e. one performing the pious activities assigned to his own Varna.

(vi) *Privileges of the Brāhmaṇas*—Apart from these duties the Brāhmanas enjoyed certain other privileges. Being attacked by

1 Ibid

2. NC 3, p 150. Different rules have been laid down by the Brāhmanic authorities for the Brāhmanas following the occupation of agriculture Gautama (*Gautama Dharmasūtra*, 10 5 6) allows a Brāhmana to maintain himself by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only, if he did not engage in it personally but through the agency of others Mādhava (*Parāśara*, Vol I, pt ii, pp 3-5, 15-16) allows a Brāhmana to live on agriculture provided he employs Śūdra labourers to do the actual work. According to the *Vṛddha Hārita* (8 179), however, agriculture was common to all the Varnas —Kane, op. cit, p. 126, Ghurye, op cit, p. 109

3 NC 3, p. 150 In the Jātakas we very frequently find the Brāhmanas driving the plough with their own hands (*Jātaka* iii, p 162 and iv, p. 276) According to Fick, it must have been a living reality, particularly in western India (*The Social Organisation in NE India*, p. 242)

the Bodhitas, the non-Āryan or Meccha thieves, the Jaina monk in the NC. is directed to save his life by calling himself a Brāhmaṇa.[1] Similarly, in an area occupied by the caste of fishermen (*dhīvāra*) a monk could introduce himself as a Brāhmana.[2] These references clearly indicate that in those circumstances the Brāhmanas were not to be robbed or molested, and that their person and property were absolutely safe even amongst the professional thieves. This reminds us of the two privileges assigned by Vaśiṣṭha to the Brāhmaṇas, viz., both the person and property of the Brāhmaṇas being absolutely inviolate.[3] Yājñavalkya also regards the murder of a Brāhmaṇa as one of the five *mahāpātakas.*[4]

(vii) *Brāhmaṇas and Judicial Matters*—It is not clear from the text as to how the various castes settled their legal disputes and other day-to-dayproblems. In case of Brāhmaṇas, however, we get a reference to the meeting of the caste of Brāhmaṇas who assembled to decide punishment for a Brāhmana who had killed a bullock by excessive beating.[5] He was, however, spared being considered as a man of too low morale on whom punishment in any form could not be effective. There is no reference that the above matter was reported to the king by the assembly. An epigraphic record from South India[6] shows : "As occasion arose, the Brāhmaṇas used to call a special meeting of the members of the caste, and the assembly could get its decree executed by the king's officials".[7] From other sources we learn that the Brāhmins in Gujarat also had such assemblies,[8] and the disputes were usually settled amongst themselves.

1. बोहिएसु वा गहितो····अब्राह्मणोपि ब्राह्मणोऽहमिति ब्रवीति—NC. 1, p. 113.
2 "खेत्ते" धीयार (जाइ) माविए "बभणो अहमि" त्ति भासए—NC. 2, p 81
3 *Vaiṣṭhasmṛti*, p. 5.
4 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, III. 227.
5. NC. 3, p. 150
6 Hultzsch, E., *South Indian Inscriptions*, i, No. 56.
7. Ghurye, op. cit , p. 3
8. Borrandaile's *Gujarat Caste-rules*, translated into Gujarati by Mangaldas Nathoobhoy, vide—Ghurye, op. cit., p. 29.

As noted before, the two virtually contradictory views regarding the social status of the Brāhmanas can be seen from the text : first the Brāhmanas belong to a condemned caste (*dhijjāti*) as they were thought by the Jaina lawgivers, and second, they are veritable gods upon this earth as they were considered by the members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇic society. It is, however, clear from this account that even though severely condemned by the Jainas, the Brāhmaṇas were held in the highest esteem by the general public and society. The con, temporary accounts of Yuan Chwang[1] and I-Tsing[2] as well as the inscriptions of the period amply testify to the fact that this was not a mere wish of the Brāhmaṇas, but a living reality acted upon by the contemporary men and women.[3]

Kṣatriyas

Kṣatriyas were the next in order. They were called Kṣatriya, since they protected others from danger (*kṣata*)[4] Their primary duty was to protect the people. Only the king belonging to a high Kṣatriya family was respected by the people[5] The Kṣatriyas appear to have been particularly aware of the purity of their descent (*piya-pakkha-visuddha*).[6] Various respe-

1. According to Yuan Chwang, India during his time was known to them as country of the Brāhmanas —Watters, op cit., 1, p. 140.
2. I-Tsing clearly states "The Brāhmanas are regarded throughout the five parts of India as the most honorable (caste) They do not, when they meet in a place, associate with the other three castes, and the mixed classes of the people have still less intercourse with them" — Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p 182.
3. Bhandarkar, R G, *A Peep into the Early History of India*, p 53
4. क्षतात् त्रायन्तीति क्षत्रिया आरक्षकेत्यर्थं —NC 2, p 467. According to *Mahāpurāṇa* (16 243), the term Kṣatriya denotes a Saviour who is entrusted with the duty of protecting the wounded For similar definition of the word Kṣatriya see—*Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 53, *Paumacariya*, 3 115, *Manu*. 10 79.
5. NC 2, p 449
6. NC 3, p 29 The early Jaina and Buddhist texts also reveal that the Kṣatriyas claimed descent from the leaders of the Āryan tribes. They were most particular as to the purity of their descent.—Law, B.C, *India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 144

ctable *kulas* of the Kṣatriyas like the Uggakula and Ikkhāgu-kula have been mentioned.[1] The NC. does not say much regarding the caste of the Kṣatriyas, but their social status must have remained the same as in the earlier centuries.

Vaiśyas or Vaṇiks

Next were the Vaiśyas *(Vaisa)*[2] who have been usually called Vaṇiks *(Vaṇija, Vaṇiya)* in the NC. Jainism being popular amongst the trading class of the Vaṇiks, a graphic account of their activities can be found in the text.[3] The Vaṇiks were the skilful traders who embarked on any enterprise only after properly calculating the income and expenditure. They always followed the profitable course.[4] By their experience and pragmatic approach they gained large profits even by investing a very little amount of money.[5] As bankers and money-lenders they controlled the whole economy[6] and also enhanced the material prosperity of the country. Taking into consideration the multifarious activities of the Vaṇiks it would not be unjust to remark that although third in the traditional order of the Varnas, the Vaiśyas enjoyed the foremost status in day-to-daylife of the period and also raised their social status to a great extent by their religious and philanthropic activities.

Śūdras

The lowest strata of society consisted of the Śūdras,[7] Caṇḍālas,[8] Śvapākas[9] and various other despised people. The

1 खतियेसु उग्गकुला—NC 3, p 413, पियपक्खविसुद्धं इक्खागुमादिय कुलं—NC. 3, p. 29

2 NC 3, p 413, NC. 4, p 50

3 See Chapter VI.

4 आय-व्यय तुले यत्र बहुतरगुणप्राप्तिस्तद् भजन्ते वणिजवत्—NC. 2, p. 341; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p 1177

5 जहा वणिआ—अप्प दविण चइउं बहुतरं लाभ गेण्हति—NC. 1, p. 153.

6. See Chap VI

7. NC 2, p 119; NC. 3, p. 413

8 NC 3, p 207

9 NC 3, p. 132.

Śūdras, however, were included into the four Āryan Varṇas[1] and as such they were differentiated from the Caṇḍalas, Śvapākas and other despised people who had no place in the Āryan society. It is not clear as to who constituted this class of the Āryan Śūdras. The *dāsas, kammakaras, bhayagas* and other agriculturist and manual labourers so frequently mentioned in the NC.[2] might be taken as representatives of the Śūdra Varṇa. Yuan Chwang informs us that the fourth class is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists who toiled by cultivating the soil and were industrious at sowing and reaping.[3] Like the three higher Varnas the Śūdras also had their own *kulas* or families[4] and the ladies belonging to the Śūdras were not equated with the untouchables for having belonged to the Āryan Varna.[5] It is evident that although occupying the lowest position in the Āryan society, the status of the Śūdras was much higher than that of the Caṇḍālas or others who were considered as untouchables.

Despised and Untouchables

Besides this Āryan population there was a large number of the tribal population residing on the outer fringes of the Āryan settlements who were despised and segregated by the members of the Āryan society. These people were usually called by a generic term *Meccha*[6] or *Aṇāriya*[7], and they roughly corresponded to the untouchable sections of the Brāhmanical society.[8] A difference has been marked by the scholars between impurity and untouchability. According to Ambedkar,

1 See—NC 4, p 50. Here the Śūdra ladies are mentioned along with the other three Āryan Varṇas as distinct from the ladies belonging to the despised castes.
2. NC. 2, p 263; NC, 3, pp. 272-73, 519.
3. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 168.
4. खत्तिएसु उग्गकुला, आदिसद्दातो वइस-सुद्देसु—NC. 3, p. 413.
5. तत्थ अदुगुंछिता बंभणी खत्तिया वेसि सुद्दी य। दुगुंछिता ··णडवरुडादियाओ—NC. 4, p. 50.
6. NC. 3, pp. 429, 518.
7. NC. 4, p. 40.
8. Sharma, op cit., p. 125.

even though the notions regarding impurity must have prevailed in India from the earliest times,[1] yet untouchability, in the modern sense of the word, came into existence somewhere between 200 and 600 A. D.[2] A complete segregation of the untouchable castes can be seen in the NC. which shows that untouchability had reached an advanced stage during these centuries. It has been clearly stated that there were two forms of the worldly segregation (*loiya-parihāra-nijjūḍha*)—(i) for a definite period (*ittarita*) and (ii) for the whole life (*āvakahiya*). This might be called the temporary and the permanent segregation.[3] As an example of the former the author has referred to the typical Indian custom of segregating those families for a period of ten days where a death or birth had taken place.[4] Various despised castes like that of the *naḍa*, *varuda*, *chiṁpaga*, *cammāra* and *ḍuṁba*, on the other hand, have been cited as examples of the latter for being permanently segregated by the civilized sections of society.[5] If we are to believe that the main distinction between the impure and the untouchable lay in the fact that while the touch of the impure caused pollution only at a ceremonial occasion, the touch of the untouchable caused pollution at all times,[6] then the former could be cited as a typical example of impurity, while the latter clearly revealed the existence of untouchability. It can thus be judged that the notions regarding impurity as well as untouchability were largely prevailing during this time.

Furthermore, these despised people, or *juṁgitas* or *duguṁchitas*, as they have been called in the NC.[7], have also been termed as *abhojjas* or *asaṁbhojikas*[8], showing thereby that interdining

1 *Untouchables*, p. 139.
2. Ibid., p. 144.
3. लोइओ इत्तरितो आवकहिओ य—NC 4, p. 280.
4. इत्तरिओ सूयगमतगादिदसदिवसवज्जणं—Ibid.
5. आवकहितो जहा णड-वरुड-छिंपग-चम्मार-डुंबादि—Ibid.
6. Ambedakar, op. cit., p. 140.
7. NC. 2, p. 243.
8. Ibid.

with them was not permitted to the higher Varnas of society. Their families were especially known as *ṭhavaṇā-kula* wherefrom a monk was expressly barred from accepting food.[1] Referring to the grounds on which they were shunned by society, three categories of the despised and untouchables have been mentioned in the NC.[2] : (i) *jātijuṁgita* or people condemned by their caste, (ii) *kammajuṁgita* or those condemned because of the work they followed and (iii) *sippajuṁgita* or those following condemned arts and crafts.

Although a distinction has been made between *kamma* and *sippa*,[3] yet for a clear understanding of the problem we may call them by a common term, viz. occupation, and thus broadly divide the untouchables into two groups. (i) untouchables by caste, (ii) untouchables by occupation.

Taking into consideration the untouchables by occupation we find that the peacock-teamers (*posaga*), barbers (*sampara*, *ṇhavita*), acrobats (*nada*), pole-dancers (*lamkha*), hunters (*vāha*, *luddhaga*), fowlers (*vāguriya*), butchers (*sogariga*, *khaṭṭiga*) and fishermen (*macchigga*) have been mentioned as following condemned work (*kammajumgita*),[4] while the leather workers (*padakāra*, *cammakāra*), barbers (*ṇhavita*), washermen (*rayaga*), dealers in silken clothes (*kosejja*), colicoprinters (*chimpaga*)) and wine-sellers (*kallāla*) have been mentioned as people following low or condemned crafts (*sippajumgita*, *duttha-sippa*).[5] Here a comparison with the Buddhist and the Brāhmanical authorities will also reveal that many of these professions have been

1. ठप्पा कुला ठवणाकुला अभोज्ज इत्यर्थं. —Ibid.
2. कम्मेण वा सिप्पेण वा जातीए वा—NC 2, p 243, NC 3, pp. 270-71, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p 336
3. *Kamma* is explained as work which could be followed without any previous training or teaching like gathering sticks etc, while *sippa* required a proper training under the guidance of a teacher —NC. 4, p. 120.
4. NC 3, p 271.
5. NC 4, p 280.

called *hīnasippas* (low professions) by the Buddhists,[1] and the people following these professions were called *abhojyas* by the Brāhmaṇical law-givers.[2] The terms *sippajuṁgita* and *kammajuṁgita* indicate that these people must have been despised by society because of their low and unclean occupations. An analysis of the above-mentioned occupations also supports to quite an extent the Occupational Theory of Rice according to which the "origin of untouchability is to be found in the unclean and filthy occupations of the untouchables."[3]

Besides, there were no hard and fast rules regarding the basis of untouchability. People following a particular occupation could be considered as despised in certain regions, while they were not despised so in other regions. For instance, the washermen (*ṇillevaga*) were despised in Sindhu,[4] and the smiths (*lohāra*) and wine-sellers (*kallāla*) in Dakṣiṇāpatha,[5] while they were not despised in the Lāṭa country where the acrobats (*naḍa*), bamboo-workers (*varuḍa*) and leather-workers (*cammakāra*) were held in contempt.[6]

The untouchables by caste were the people who were despised because of their birth in certain families.[7] They

1. The five low occupations (*hīnasippāni*) mentioned in the *Vinaya* are—that of the *naḷakāra* (bamboo-workers), the *kumbhakāra* (potter), the *kosakāra* (weaver), the *cammakāra* (leather-worker) and the *nhāvita* (barber)–*Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV 7.
2. According to Viṣṇu, a member of the first three castes has to undergo a penance if he takes food offered by a carpenter, a black-smith, a gold-smith, a dealer in molasses and other liquids, an oil-presser, a weaver, a dyer of clothes, a cane-worker and a washerman. Atri declares a washerman, a leather-worker, a cane-worker, a fisherman and a Bhil to be *antyajas* or outcastes–Ghurye, op. cit., p 101.
3. Rice, *Hindu Customs and Their Origins*, pp 113-15.
   Although Ambedkar has tried to reject the Occupational Theory of Rice (see–*Untouchables*, p. 65), yet from the NC., occupation seems to have been the basis of untouchability
4. ते च्चेव अण्णत्थ अजुंगिता, जहा सिंधूए णिल्लेवगा—NC. 2, p. 243.
5. जे जत्थविसए जात्यादिजुंगिता जहा दक्खिणावहे लोहकारकल्लाला—NC. 4, p. 132.
6. लाडेसु णडवरुडचम्मकारादि—Ibid.
7. जातिजुंगितो णियमा कुलेण जुंगितो त्ति—NC. 3, p. 270.

mostly belonged to the aboriginal primitive tribes[1] who were unaware of the civilized ways of life. The various untouchable castes and the wild tribes mentioned in the NC. are as follows :

(i) *Bhilla*—The primitive tribe of the Bhillas or Bhils has been frequently mentioned in the NC. as residing in the forests or hills.[2] They had their own forts or habitats knows as *bhilla-koṭṭa* or *bhilla-pallī*.[3] Because of their uncivilized and barbarious habits, their existence was a grave danger (*vāghāya*) to the caravans passing through the dense forests.[4] The existence of their caste in the neighbouring regions of Gujarat is evident from the fact that the Bhils or Kolis were supposed to have been the earliest traditional rulers of Gujarat.[5]

(ii) *Bodhita*—Bohiga or Bodhita was a caste of the Mecchas who resided in the hilly areas serrounding the Malwa region.[6] They are mentioned as a class of the professional robbers or thieves who kidnapped and robbed the people of their belon-

(iii) *Caṇḍāla*—The lowest position in society was assigned to the Caṇḍālas. In the feasts organized for all the sections of society, from the highest to the lowest (*yāvamtigā-saṁkhadī*), the Caṇḍālas can be seen occupying the lowest status.[8] The Caṇḍālas, Mātaṁgas and Śvapākas were condemned and ill-reputed as they observed no restrictions on matters relating to

1. According to Rhys Davids, the *hina jatis* of the Buddhists also were the aboriginal tribes--*Buddhist India*, p. 54.
2. NC. 3, p. 219, NC. 1, p. 144.
3. NC 4, p. 151.
4. NC. 1, p. 144.
5 Majumdar, op. cit., p. 35.
6. बोहिगा मालवादिमेच्छा, ते पव्वयमालेसु ठिया माणुसाणि हरंति—NC. 4, p. 124; also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 880.
7. बोहिगतेणे य त्ति जे मेच्छा, माणुसाणि हरंति ते बोहिगतेणा भण्णंति—NC. 1, p. 100.
8. पढमा ति जावंतिगा ताए सव्वेसिं तडियकप्पडिगाणं आचंडालेसु दिज्जति—NC. 2, p. 207

food habits.[1] According to Manu, the Caṇḍālas were the lowest amongst men[2], and the description of the Caṇḍāla-hamlet (*Caṇḍāla-vasati*) given by Bāṇa in the Kādambarī also reveals the same fact.

(iv) *Cora*—The Cora are mentioned as a caste residing in the forests along with the Śabaras and the Pulindas.[3] They used to steal cattle from the villages and had no other profession apart from stealing.[4]

(v) *Domba or Dumba*–The Dombas are mentioned as despised people "living in the open space",[5] as they used to live in the unprotected places. They are also described as "people constantly fighting among themselves and being notorious for their haughty and jealous disposition."[6] They were usually employed by the kings to drive the elephants (*memṭha*).[7] The ancient authorities compare the Dombas with the Caṇḍālas and Śvapākas in social status.[8] This caste is the present scheduled caste in Madras as Dombo and as Doma in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.[9]

(vi) *Harikeśa*–The Harikesas (Harikeśas) were the people despised on the basis of their caste (*jātijumgita*) along with the Lohakāras, Medas, Pānas, Dombas and Varuḍas.[10] They have been equated with the Mātaṁgas.[11] In the *Pāiya Sadda Mahaṇṇava* also they are indentified with the Caṇḍālas.[12]

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1. "णत्थि किं चि अभक्खं अपेयं वा" अतिपरिणामपसंगेण सो मायंगचंडालो जातो—NC. 3, p. 527.
2. *Manu*. 10. 12.
3. NC 3, p. 87.
4. गवादिहारिणो चोरा—NC 3, p. 198.
5. आगासवासिणो डोंबा —NC. 3, p. 270
6. लोगे अयसो अहो डोंबा विव सततं कलहसीला, रोसणा, पेसुण्णभरिता—NC. 2, p. 284.
7. डोंबो त्ति मेंठो—NC 3. p. 436
8. Kane, op. cit., p. 82.
9. Ibid.
10. NC. 3, p. 270.
11. NC. 1, p. 10.
12. P. 941.

(vii) *Kolika*—The Kolikas were another set of despised people.[1] The *Yaśastilaka* mentions them as a class of weavers.[2] Kolika as an Antyaja caste has also been mentioned by Vedavyāsa.[3] Describing the original population of Gujarat, Majumdar informs us that the Kolis stand between the Kaliparāja or the early aboriginal tribes and the Ujalī-varṇa or the fair complexioned people of Gujarat. They are half Bhil and half Hindu and have in some parts intermingled with the Ujalī-varṇa[4] They were supposed to have been the earliest traditional rulers of Gujarat.[5]

(viii) *Lohakāra*[6]—The caste of the Lohakāras was not universally condemned. While they were treated as despised in Southern India,[7] they were not despised in the Lāṭa country. Perhaps they might have originally been the members of a primitive tribe and retained their occupation even in the later centuries.

(ix) *Mātanga*-The Mātangas were another popular wild tribe. They have been identified with the Pānas also.[8] The Mātangas were versed in various occult powers,[9] and they maintained their own religious beliefs. The Pānas and the Mātangas worshipped the deities knows as *Jakkhas* The shrine of the Āḍambara Jakkha, who was also known as Hirimikka-jakkha, was supposed to have been built upon the bones of human beings.[10] This practice was probably the result of

1. जुगु च्छितो कोलिगजाति भेदो णेक्कारो—NC 3, p 270.
2 Jain, G C, *Yaśastilaka kā Saṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 63.
3 *Vedavyāsasmṛti*, I. 12-13
4 Majumdar, op. cit, p. 34
5. Ibid, p 35
6 NC 3, p 270.
7 NC 4, p. 132
8. "पाण" त्ति—मातंगा—NC 4, p. 238
9. King Seniya is mentioned to have learnt two supernatural powers called *unnāmani* and *onnamini* from a Harikeśa or Mātanga—NC. 1, p. 9.
10. "पाण" त्ति—मातंगा तेसिं आडंबरो जक्खो हिरिमिक्को वि भण्णति तस्स हेट्ठा सज्जोमतअट्ठीणि ठविज्जंति—NC 4, p. 238, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 294.

their association with the cremation-ground.[1] The terms Mātaṅga and Caṇḍāla have been taken as synonyms by Bāṇa.[2] The present untouchable caste called 'Mang' in the old Bombay Presidency and 'Māng' in Orissa[3] may be the descendants of these Mātaṅgas.

(x) *Meda*—The Medas or Meyas are mentioned as the untouchables who hunted games with bow and arrow.[4] According to Manu, the Medas, were employed in hunting wild animals.[5] The Medas as an *antyaja* caste have also been mentioned by Vedavyāsa.[6]

(xi) *Morattiya*—Morattiya is mentioned as an untouchable caste with whom the higher Varṇas could not interdine.[7] They have been identified with the Caṇḍālas or Śvapākas.[8]

(xii) *Pāṇa*—Pāṇa was another wild tribe. As noted before, they have been identified with the Mātangas.[9] Pāṇas were highly despised by the people because of their filthy habits.[10] The Jaina monks were directed not to eat in their company lest they might also be thought as unclean as the Pāṇas.[11] As mentioned before, the Pāṇas and the Mātangas worshipped the deities called Jakkhas. The status of the Pāṇas was evidently the same as that of the Caṇḍālas.

(xiii) *Pulinda*—Pulinda was a popular non-Āryan tribe. Like the Bhillas, the Pulindas also had their own forts or habitats marked as the *Pulinda Koṭṭa*[12] or *Pulinda Pallī*[13] and they

1 Sharma, op cit., p 264
2 *Kādambari*, para 9.
3. Kane, op. cit , p. 91.
4. चावग्गहितग्गहत्थादिया रातो य जीवघायणपरा मेता—NC. 3, p. 198, also *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 781.
5. *Manu*. 10 48.
6 *Vedavyāsasmṛti*, 1 12-13.
7. जातीए पाणा, डोंबा, मोरत्तिया य—NC. 2, p. 243
8. *Pāiya Sadda Mahaṇṇava*, p 700
9. See Mātaṅgas.
10. NC. 1, p. 16, NC. 3, p 157.
11. मंडली विहाणेण भुंजमाणा पाणा इव सव्वे एक्कलाला असुइणो एते—NC. 1, p. 16.
12. NC. 3, p. 496.
13. NC. 3, p. 521.

robbed the people passing through their habitats. They were totally barbarious people living outside the pale of the Āryan society, and even the sight of an Āryan was a surprise *(kotua)* to them.[2] They are mentioned as *ṇillajjas*[1] or people without any sense of shame, for they openly cohabited with their women. Sometimes, illicit relations seem to have existed between the Āryan male and the non-Āryan female, particularly the Pulinda female.[3] The Pulindas used to eat meat of the dead cows.[4] It has been clearly indicated that the Pulindas or the non-Āryans as a whole were allowed to eat meat of the dead cows, but they were not allowed to kill a living cow.[5] According to Vedavyāsa, all those castes, who indulged in killing animals, were to be termed as *antyajas.*[6] The status of the Pulindas as outcastes is evident from the text.

(xiv) *Śabara*—Śabara as a non-Āryan tribe has been mentioned along with the Pulindas and the Coras residing in the dense forests outside the Āryan regions.[7] In the *Kādambarī*[8] as well as in the *Harṣacarita*[9] of Bāna the Śabaras are shown as residing in the Vindhya forests. The Śabaras along with the Pulindas, Kirātas and other non-Āryan tribes have been included in the Śūdra-varna in the *Amarakośa.*[10]

(xv) *Varuda*[11]—The Varuḍas earned their livelihood by making ropes and selling the winnowing baskets.[12] Varuḍa

1. NC. 4, p. 49.
2. णित्थक्का णिल्लज्जा—Ibid ; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p. 680
3. NC 4, p 49.
4. NC. 3, p 521
5. सा (जरगवी) पुलिंदेहिं "सयं मय" त्ति खइया—Ibid
6. *Vedavyāsasmṛti*, 1. 12-13.
7. NC. 3, p 87.
8. Agrawala, V S., *Kādambarī · Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 42.
9. In the *Harṣacarita* (p. 232) Bhūkampa is described as a general of Śabaras, the lord of all this Vindhyan range, the leader of all the village chiefs.
10. *Amarakośa*, II 10-21.
11. आवकहितो जहा णड-वरुड···डुंबादि—NC. 4, p. 280.
12. सुप्पादिया रुडं करेत्ता वरुडा—NC. 3, p 270.

has been mentioned by Atri as an *antyaja* caste.[1] Baruḍa as a scheduled caste can now be found in Orissa.[2]

(xvi-xvii) *Śaka-Yavana*—The non-Āryan tribes of the Śakas and the Yavanas are shown as ruling outside the Āryan regions.[3] They wore quaint dresses and spoke different languages.

An analysis of the various customs and habits of these despised castes in the NC. reveals to us certain outstanding features of this tribal population as a whole. Firstly, they were non-Āryans or Mecchas (Dravidians or non-Dravidians whosoever they might have been)[5] as against the Āryan people who ruled over the territory. Secondly, they usually resided in forests or hills or at such other quarters outside the village and were thus segregated by the Āryan society. Thirdly, as noted before, in case of the Pulindas, the habit of beaf-eating may be regarded as a general habit of all the non-Āryan population, and as Ambedkar has remarked: "It is decisive on this point that it is beaf-eating which is the root of untouchability and which also divides the impure and the untouchables."[6] Lastly, they maintained different religious beliefs, worshipped different deities like the *Jakkhas* and believed in various occult powers and practices.

The society revealed from the NC. is thus a mixed assortment of this Āryan and non-Āryan population. The Āryans formed the civilized section of society and ruled over the territory, and their subjects were governed by the order of the four Varṇas (*caturvarṇa*), while the Mecchas or the non-Āryans resided at the outer quarters and were least affected by the civilized ways of the Āryans. In the following pages an account shall be given of the various social institutions of the

1 *Atrismṛti*, 199
2. Kane, op cit, p. 70.
3. NC 4, p 124.
4 Ibid
5. According to the Racial Theory of Rice, the untouchables were the non-Dravidian aboriginals.—*Hindu Customs and Their Origins*, pp. 113-15.
6 Ambedkar, op. cit., p. 142.

Aryans who had developed a high social life from the earliest times.

Family

Family *(kula)* was the nucleus of all social activities of the individual, and society was but an aggregate of such families.[1] Birth in a particular family higher or lower *(ibbha*[2] or *jungiya*[3]*)* determined the social status of a man, and we find various *kulas* belonging to all the four Varnas, viz. Bambhana-kula, Khattiya-kula, Vaniya-kula and Sudda-kula.[4]

The pattern of the family was a joint one *(sāmaṇṇa ghara)*[5] in which the uncles *(pitrvya)*, brothers *(bhrāta)*, grandfather *(pitāmaha)* and grandsons *(pautraka)* lived together under the same roof and followed the common customs *(egā-savvā-samācārī)*.[6] Every thing spiritual or material must have been shared by them in common "Joint in food, worship and estate" has been the ideal of Hindu Joint Family, and Kauṭilya also lays down that the members of a family must live in the same abode, partake the food cooked in the same kitchen, and enjoy the common property.[7]

The following six relations, i.e. mother, father, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters were the prime members of the family. They have been called 'blood-relations' or members united due to the relationship of a common umbilicalcord *(ṇālabaddha)*.[8] Besides these six family members, the other

1. Agrawala, V S , *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 93.
2. NC 2, p. 433.
3 NC 2, p 243
4 NC 3, p. 413
5. NC 2, p. 140.
6. पितृव्य., भ्राता, पितामह:, पौत्रक·—भ्रातृव्य इत्यर्थ: । अहवा—एगकुलिच्चए तेसिं एक्का सव्वा सामाचारी—NC 4,p 86.
According to Kautilya also the family includes children, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters or widowed daughters—*Arthaśāstra*, p 47.
7. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 190
8. छ णालबद्धा इमे—माता पिता भ्राता भगिणी पुत्तो धूता—NC. 4, p. 86, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4. p. 1267

sixteen nearest relatives are enumerated as four from the mother's side, i.e. mother's mother, father, brother and sister; the same four from the paternal side; brother's sons and daughters, sister's sons and daughters; grandson and granddaughter from the son and daughter both. All these twenty-two relations have been called blood-relations being united by the chain of the same umbilical cord.[1] An analysis will make it clear that the list includes three generations from both the sides, maternal and paternal. These blood-relations called *ṇāla-baddha* in the NC. may correspond to *sanābhi* of Pāṇini[2] and *sanābhya* or *spiṇḍa* as explained by Manu.[3]

In this joint-family father was the master *(prabhu)* of the house and was known as *gṛhapati* or *gharasāmi*.[4] He looked after all the affairs of the family and was the master of the family-property during his life-time. The parents were to be respected and obeyed by all the family-members. To repay the debt which one owes to the parents and preceptor was hard indeed.[5] In the absence or on the death of the father, the eldest son *(jeṭṭha-putta)* usually became the master of the house.[6] Sometimes, however, the younger one or all the sons acquired an equal status *(savve-pabhu)*.[7] After the death of the father the family-property was equally distributed amongst all his sons. An illustration of the same has been mentioned in which the four sons got an equal share of the father's pro-

1. NC. 4, p. 87.
   According to the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, the first six, i. e. mother, father, brother, sister, son and daughter, were the direct blood relatives, while the other sixteen were indirectly united by a common umbilical cord.–*Bṛh Vṛ*, p. 1267.
2. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, VI. 3. 85; Agrawala, V. S., op. cit., p. 93.
3. Vide—Agrawala, op. cit.
4. गृहस्य पतिः प्रभुः स्वामी गृहपतीत्यर्थः—NC. 2, p. 118.
5. दुप्पडियरगं जओ तिण्ह मातु पितु धम्मायरियस्स य । एते परमोवकारिणो—NC. 3, p. 34.
6. पभू पिता जदि असहीणो···जो जेट्ठो पुत्तो सो अणुण्णविज्जति—NC. 2, p. 140.
7. ततो अणुजेट्ठादि सव्वे वा पभू—NC. 2, p. 140; *Bṛh. Vṛ.*, p. 900.

perty (*piisamtiyam davvam*) including produce of the field,[1] irrespective of the fact that three of them were lazy and indulged in vices like drinking and gambling.

The wife of the master was the mistress of the house (*gharini*[2]–*grhini*) and she was responsible for all the internal affairs of the family. The duties of a mistress were quite exacting although in her household duties she was usually helped by the daughters, daughters-in-law and by slaves and servants of the family. The lady was responsible for meeting the requirements of all the family-members, she kept a watch over the servants of the family, provided them with proper food and also looked after the budget of the family.[3]

Polygamy being in vogue, wives thus lived under the same roof.[4] In such cases the eldest wife was usually the mistress of the house, but in case she had no son, the younger one having a son could also be given the charge of the family.[5] In case all the wives had sons, then the mother of the eldest son (*jetthaputta-māyā*) usually commanded more respect.[6] However, no hard and fast rule could be laid down in this regard, and the wife dearest to husband was, in fact, the mistress of the house.[7] Generally, the co-wives must have lived in the same house. Sometimes, however, they had separate houses and the husband took meals with them in turns (*vāragena*).[8] The existence of co-wives in a house must have created unpleasantness in the family. However, no such instances have come to light which led to the disintegration of the family.

1. ताण ज पिइसंतिय किंचि दव्व छेत्ते वा उप्पण्णं तं सव्व समभागेण भवति—NC. 3, p 227.
2. NC. 1, p. 15, NC. 3, p. 357.
3. NC 2, p. 22.
4. घर· ·सवित्तिणी-सामण्ण वा—NC. 2, p. 140.
5. पभुम्मि पउत्थे जा जेट्ठतरी भज्जा तमणुण्णवेंति—NC. 2, p 141, *Brh. Vr.* 4, p 991
6. जस्स वा सुतो जेट्ठो—NC· 2, p. 141, *Brh. Vr.* 4, p 991.
7. NC. 2, p. 140.
8. अणितियं वारएण भुंजति—NC. 2, p. 142, *Brh. Vr.* 4, p 992

Marriage

Forms of Marriage—Marriage (*vivāha, pariṇaya* or *udvāha*)[1] was a necessary step for the individuals to enter the family-life (*gṛhibhāva*). Of the forms of marriage prescribed by the Brāhmaṇic authorities,[2] examples of only three are to be usually found in the Jaina Āgama Texts. These are : (i) marriages arranged by the parents, (ii) marriages by purchase and (iii) marriages by self-choice (*svayaṁvara*).[3] Instances of all the three are to be found in the NC. Besides, certain unorthodox types of marriage like the sister-marriage, cousin-marriage and marriage in exchange have also been referred to.

Marriage Arranged by the Parents—Marriage was usually arranged by the parents in which the daughter was given away to the bridegroom after decorating her person with beautiful clothes and ornaments. This type of marriage corresponds to the Brāhmya[4] or Prājāpatya[5] form of marriage prescribed by the Brāhmaṇic authorities. Most of the examples of marriages referred to in the text belong to this category.[6] This shows that it was the usual form of marriage practised by the Indians during these centuries.

Marriage by Purchase—Marriage by purchase was also common in which the bridegroom gave a settled amount of money as 'bride-price' to the father or guardian of the bride. This type of marriage corresponds to the Āsura form of marri-

1 NC. 1, p. 17, NC 3, pp. 140, 423
2. *Manusmṛti*, 3. 21, *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*, 1. 21. 1
3. Jain, K. C , *Bauddha aura Jaina Āgamoṁ meṁ Nārī-Jīvana*. According to J C. Jain, three types of marriage mentioned in the Jaina Sūtras are : marriages arranged by parents, svayaṁvara and Gandharva—LAI., p 155; see also—Sikdar, op cit., pp. 211-12.
4. स ब्राह्मयो विवाहो यत्र वरायालङ्कृत्य कन्या प्रदीयते—*Nītivā.*, p. 374.
5. बिनियोगेन कन्याप्रदानात्प्राजापत्य. —Ibid. For marriages like Brāhmya or Prājāpatya see—Sangave, V. A., *Jaina Community*, p. 146. See also—Chaterjee, H. A., Study of the Prājāpatya Form of Marriage, IHQ., Vol 32 (1957), pp. 44-51.
6. NC. 1, p. 17; NC. 3, p. 150.

age[1] prescribed by the Brāhmanic law-givers. In the NC. Anaṁgasena, a rich jeweller from Campā, is mentioned to have married a large number of beautiful young women by giving a high price.[2] Bhaṭṭā, the daughter of a seṭṭhī, after being forsaken by her husband, was sold to a Vaidya by the Senāpati whom she was unwilling to marry.[3] References in the literature[4] reveal that marriages by purchase were quite in vogue in certain parts of India, particularly in Gujarat where it turned out to be a regular custom among certain castes.[5] In spite of giving it a legal sanction, this type of marriage has been severely condemned by the Brāhmaṇic law-givers.[6]

Marriage by Self-choice (Svayaṁvara)—Marriage by self-choice or *svayaṁvara* was a particular custom amongst the Ksatriyas in which a husband was chosen by a princess or the daughter of a Kṣatriya at a public assembly of suitors.[7] According to certain contemporary Jaina Purāṇas, the *svayaṁvara* mode of marriage was the *sanātana-mārga* and was considered as the best form of marriage.[8] However, the practice of *svayaṁvara* amongst the higher castes had gone out of vogue by these centuries.[9] Strangely enough, the author refers to a typical custom of *svayaṁvara* existing among the slave-boys of the Tosali Visaya where a fire-vessel (*agni-kuṇḍa*) was constantly kept burning in the *svayaṁvara*-hall (*vagghāraṇa-sālā*) for the purpose of

1. पणबन्धने कन्याप्रदानादासुरः —*Nitivā.*, p 375
2. सो य जं रूववइ कण्णं पासति तं बहु दविणजाय दाउं परिणेइ—NC. 3, p. 140,
3. तेण वि सा जल्लगवेज्जरस हत्थे विक्कीता—NC 3, p 151.
4. *Ṇāyādhammakahā*, 1. 17. 101, *Vivāgasuya*, 1. 9 177, *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 4 97; *Uttarā. Cū.*, p. 110
5. Some castes, especially the Pātidāra caste in Ahmedabad and Kaira districts and the Ānavala Desāi caste in Sūrat district are said to pay 'bride-price'—Majumdar, op. cit., p. 151.
6. Altekar, A. S., *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 47-50.
7. SED., p. 1278.
8. *Mahāpurāṇa*, pp. 44 ff; see also—Jain, K. P., 'Marriage in Jaina Literature', IHQ., Vol. IV, p. 146.
9. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

marriage. Many slave-boys and a slave-girl entered the *svayaṁvara*-hall and the slave-girl used to choose a boy of her own choice.[1] It is clear that *svayaṁvara* as a mode of marriage amongst the higher castes was not popular during these centuries.[2]

Apart from these, certain traditional examples of abduction and elopement as in the cases of Suvarṇagulikā's abduction by king Pajjoya[3] and Ajja Kālaga's nun-sister's by king Gaddabhilla[4] have been mentioned which may be taken to correspond the Rākṣasa form of marriage as practised by the kings and princes, i. e. the Kṣatriya class. These references, however, belong to the earlier centuries and do not reflect the life of the age.

Other Types of Marriage—Besides these traditional forms of marriage, examples of certain untraditional or unorthodox marriages have also been cited in the text. Marriage with one's own mother or daughter has always been condemned and restricted[5], but the sister-marriage, according to the Jaina mythology, was quite prevalent during the time of Rsabhadeva who married his own sister.[6] It has been stated in the NC. that the sexual relations with a sister could be tolerated during the *mihuna-kāla.*[7] The author here seems to refer to those days of promiscuity or the age of *yugala-dharma* when men and women were born in couples as husband and wife.[8]

1 वग्घारणमाला नोसलिविसए गाममज्झे साला कीरइ। तत्थ अगणिकुंड णिच्चमेव अच्छति सयंवरणिमित्त। तत्थ य बहवे चेडा एक्का य सयंवरा चेडी पविसिज्जति, जो से चेडीए भावति तं वरेति—NC. 4, p 62., *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 963.

2 According to Saletore, no concrete example is so far forthcoming to prove that it (svayamvara) was actually adopted in practice by (Gupta kings) between the 4th and 7th centuries.—*Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 201

3. NC. 3, p. 145.

4. NC. 3, p. 59.

5. माता अप्पणो अगम्मा—NC. 4, p. 16.

6. LAI., p. 160.

7. मिहुणकाले भगिणी गम्मा। सेसकाले अगिणी—NC. 4, p. 17.

8. Jain, K. P., 'Marriage in Jaina Literature', IHQ., Vol. IV, p. 146.

Cousin-marriage, i. e. marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter or with a girl related from the mother's side, was a regular custom (*chamda āyāra*) in the Lāṭa country.[1] According to the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter was common in Lāṭa and Dakṣiṇāpatha; but it was severely condemned in Uttarāpatha.[2] Kumārila Bhaṭṭa also refers to this particular custom while stating that a Dakṣiṇātya is overjoyed to get the hand of the daughter of his maternal uncle.[3] The epigraphs of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. also approve of the same practice.[4] Although this type of marriage has been forbidden and even condemned by the Brāhmanic law-givers, since it falls in the field of the Sapiṇḍa Marriage,[5] yet our author considers it as a natural custom. Many of the rules for the Jaina monks were formulated to restrict them from keeping any contact or begging alms etc. from the maternal uncle's daughter. She has been specifically called *garugī*[6] or *mehuniyā*[7], as a person was generally supposed to marry his maternal uncle's daughter in the Lāṭa country.

Marriage in exchange, i. e. marrying by giving one's own sister in return, was also common.[8] In such marriages it was believed that one's sister would remain happy if he behaved well with the sister of the other.[9] Such types of marriages are still in vogue in certain parts of India.

1. छंदो आयारो गंमा जहा लाडाणं माउलदुहिया, माउसस्स धूया अगमा—NC. 1, p. 57
2. *Āva. Cū.* II, p. 81.
3. स्वमातुलसुतां प्राप्य दक्षिणात्यस्तु तुष्यति—Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, quoted by Govinda Svāmī in the commentry on *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* (Mysore ed.), p. 2.
4. 'Combay Plates of Govindarāja IV', EI. VII, p. 38.
5. *Manusmṛti*, 11. 172-79
6. NC 2, p. 14.
7. मेहुणि त्ति माउलपिउस्सियधाता—NC. 4, p. 135.
8. NC. 3, p. 432.
9. NC. 3, p. 432.

Of all the different types of marriage mentioned in the NC. marriages arranged by the parents were the most common, although the other types were also practised amongst the different sections of society.

Marriageable Age—No restriction to age-limit for marriage in case of men was put, as many of them married several times in their life.[2] Instances show that some boys embraced the monkhood on the day of their marriage.[3] The age of the boy therefore must have been at least sixteen at the time of his first marriage. The Jaina Śāstras of this period advocate twelve years as the age for the bride and sixteen years for that of the bridegroom.[4] It is strange enough to see that while the Hindu law-givers of this age enjoy pre-puberty marriages for the girls,[5] no examples of child-marriage are referred to in the text. The references indicate that the girls were quite grown up and had reached the prime of their youth (*jauvvaṇa-patta*) by the time they got married.[6] In the classical Sanskrit literature of the contemporary period the heroines are usually shown as quite grown up which does not easily coincide with the injunctions of the Smṛti literature of the time. The various references in the NC. appear to quote the examples only from the Jaina families where the marriage of a girl before attaining puberty was not considered to be a religious binding,[7]

1. LAI., p. 161.
2. NC. 3, p. 53, NC. 1, p. 15.
3. प्रथम वयंसि णिविट्ठो णिविस्समाणो वा—NC. 2, p. 108.
4. Jain, K P., 'Marriage in Jaina Literature', IHQ., Vol. IV, p. 151. According to Somadeva, a girl of twelve years and a boy of sixteen years become competent for selection. द्वादशवर्षा स्त्री षोडशवर्षः पुमान् प्राप्तव्यवहारौ भवतः—*Nitivā.*, p. 371. "This can be regarded as proper age of marriage recommended for adoption by the Jainas"—Sangave, op. cit., p. 149.
5. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1. 13; see also—Altekar, op. cit., p. 68.
6. सा य सुकुमालिया जोव्वणं पत्ता—NC. 2, p. 417.
7. Among the Jainas the insitution of marriage is viewed clearly in its social aspect. There is no religious motive in contracting marriage as

and therefore the girls could grow up in their paternal house for a longer period.

Marriage Ceremonies and Feasts--Two different phrases, i. e. *varita* and *pariṇita,* have been used.[1] The word *varita* meant the betrothal ceremony preceding *pariṇita* which was the stage after the marriage ceremony was over. Favourable conditions of the stars and planets (*nakṣatra*) were studied in great detail as it was believed that marriage solemnised at an inauspicious hour would not promote matrimonial happiness. It was thus a superstitious belief amongst the unhappy wives who were deprived of the love and affection of their husbands to take it for granted that at the time of their marriage the stars were not in favourable position (*vivakkarādidosa*).[2] The Buddhist and Brāhmanic authorities also put a great stress on this point.[3] Vātsyāyana quoting the earlier authorities in his text gives it as his decided opinion that a girl should be sought for or given away when the signs, omens, portents and voices were favourable.[4] Bāna informs that "on a day of good omen Prabhākaravardhana poured the Rājyaśrī's betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary".[5]

During marriage a pavilion or canopy (*maṇḍapa*)[6] was raised and various types of festoons of flowers and green leaves (*vamdaṇa-māliyā*) were suspended at the gates for auspicious

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such —Sangave, op cit , p 159, see also—Jain, K. C , op cit , pp 45 and 339.

1. मा पुण मयहर-धुया वरेत्ता परिणीया—NC. 1, p 17.
2. णूण विवाहदिणे विवक्करादि-दोसो णक्खत्तस्स—NC. 2, p. 258; *Bṛh-Vṛ.* 4, p. 1030.
3. *Sumangala Vilāsini*, 1 96, cf. *Paumacariya*, 6 27 and 15 95.
4. *Kāmasūtra*, p. 185.
   See also—Chakaldar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p 129
5. *Harṣacarita*, p. 123
6. एत्थ अत्थाणि मडवो, एत्थ से वासघरं—NC. 2, p. 461. Mention of the words *asthānamanḍapa* and *vāsagṛha* perhaps point towards the ceremonies of *Manḍapa-vedi-pratiṣṭhā* and *Vāsakṣepa* which are two rites among the 16 main rites in the marriage ceremony as observed by the Śvetāmbara Jainas. For 16 main rites of marriage see—Sangave, op. cit., p. 165.

purposes.[1] The bride and the bridegroom after marriage were taken to the *vāsagṛha*[2] or the marriage-chamber the walls of which were sometimes painted with beautiful and auspicious scenes.[3] In the *Harṣacarita* Rājyaśrī was also taken to *vāsagṛha* the doorways of which were adorned by the human representations of love and joy (Rati and Prīti).[4]

Various household ceremonies were held before and after the marriage at bride's or bridegroom's place. *Āheṇa*[5] was a feast given to the guests when the bride entered the bridegroom's house. *Paheṇaga*[6] was a feast given by the bride's parents. *Sammela* was another type of marriage-feast (*vivāha-bhatta*).[7] Marriage was thus the most auspicious and sacred occasion which was celebrated with great joy and mirth in the presence of various relations, friends and guests.

Widows and Remarriage–Though men married several times, remarriage of the widows, or of the women forsaken by their husbands, was spurned by the society, especially amongst the higher castes. They (widows) had to keep their chastity and even the unwilling widows were forced to keep the vow of

1. विवाहेसु अणेगविहेसु अणेगविहो वंदण मालियाओ—NC. 2, p. 396, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p 654.
2. परिणीया य वासघर पविट्ठा—NC 1, p. 10. The author here seems to have followed the scheme of marriage ceremonies as observed by Śvetāmbaras. According to the Brāhmanical texts, the newly wedded couple must observe strict chastity for three days before the consummation of the marriage. The Digambara Jainas also enjoin celibacy for seven days. But among the Śvetāmbaras the newly wedded couple depart for consummation of marriage on the same day on which Āśirvāda, i. e. the last marriage ceremony, is performed.—*Jaina Saṁskāra Vidhi*, pp. 110-11; Sangave, op. cit., p. 170.
3. NC. 2, p. 461.
4. *Harṣacarita*, p. 130.
5. जं बहूगिहातो वरगिहं णिज्जति तं आहेणं,···वरवहूण—NC. 3, p. 223; जमवरगिहातो आणिज्जति तं आहेणं—NC. 3, p. 222; *Ācārāṅga Cū.* II, p. 11.
6. जं वरगिहातो वहूघरं णिज्जति तं पहेणगं···जमन्नतो णिज्जति तं पहेणगं—NC. 3, p. 222.
7. वीवाहभत्तं सम्मेलो—Ibid.

celibacy.[1] Such celibate life has been termed as *dravya-Brahma*, i. e. material celibacy,[2] as against *bhāva-Brahma*, i. e. celibacy which was practised due to an inner urge. Widows were to wear simple clothes and were not allowed to wear any ornaments.[3] Usually women would have remained in the same house after the death of their husbands,[4] but in many cases they went back to their maternal homes.[5] Many a woman embraced Jaina or Buddhist monastic order being disgusted with the life due to the death of their loving husbands[6] or because of the quarrelsome atmosphere in the family. The Jaina Ācāryas took an active part in preaching such ladies.[7] It can be thus stated that the Jaina and Buddhist monastic orders provided a great help in alleviating the miseries of women by giving them the status of nuns and thus saving them from the sorrowful life of the ancient Indian widowhood.

Though remarriages were strictly restricted among the higher castes, i. e. the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, it was tolerated amongst the lower castes. A story is cited in the NC. wherein Bhaṭṭā, the daughter of a Śreṣṭhin, was proposed for marriage by the Senāpati after she had left her former husband.[8] Instance has been mentioned of a householder who being enraged in a family dispute ordered his four wives to leave the house; out of them one went to another family, i. e. married another man (*para-gharammi gatā*).[9] This shows that this course of behaviour was also resorted to by some ladies in

1. NC. 1, p. 1; *Manusmṛti*, 9. 65. 5, 158, 160.
2. जाओ य अकामिआओ रंडकुरंडाओ बंभ धरेंति तं सव्वं दव्वबंभ—NC. 1, p. 1
3. जेण रंडकुरंडातो य अणाभरणियाओ भवंति—NC 2, p. 11.
4 NC 2, p 111
5 Ibid ; also NC. 3, p 52
6 सो मे भत्ता सगुणो णेहपरो आसि, तस्स मरणेण पव्वइया—NC 2, p. 258.
7. मइयरिया मे णेहपरा धम्मक्खाणं करेति तेण बोधी लद्धा—NC. 2, p. 258; *Bṛh. Vṛ*, pp. 1029-30.
8. NC 3, p. 151.
9. तत्थेगा कम्हि वि परघरम्मि गया । दूरणट्ठ त्ति ण ताए किं चि पओअणं—NC. 3, p. 52; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p. 1518.

certain circumstances. Remarriage was thus prevalent amongst the lower castes where it might have been an economic necessity[1] and was also not considerd as a factor degrading the family prestige.

Niyoga or Levirate—The practice of Niyoga or Levirate was quite prevalent in ancient India. This practice allowed a childless woman to have a son through any other person in case the husband was dead or was incapable of procreating children. In the NC. we find that an heirless king is advised by his ministers to have a son through monks in order to save the kingdom from destruction.[2] It was believed : "The seed in the field could be sown by any one but its product belonged to the landlord. Similarly, the son born to a wife belonged to her husband alone".[3] However, even in exceptional circumstances the rulers tried to avoid this practice because of the fear of social repercussions. Levirate as a social practice has been severely condemned as a "beastly practice"[3] by the contemporary law-givers[4] and was out of vogue soon after the sixth century A.D.

Satī or Self-immolation—The custom of Satī or self-immolation was common during these conturies,[5] as it has been referred to by most of the law-givers of the time.[6] Contemporary inscriptions also refer to this practice.[7] A story in the NC. narrates that 500 merchants of Sopāraya wore ordered by the king to be burnt alive due to non-payment of taxes. Their wives also voluntarily entered the burning pyre after their

1 Majumdar, op cit, p 156
2. मर्तांहिं भणियं-अंतपुरे कोइ खिप्पउ, तुह खेत्तज्जायया तुह ते पुत्ता—NC 2, p 381; also NC 1, p. 127
3. जहा परखेत्ते अण्णेण बीयं वाविय खेत्तिणो आहव्वं भवति, एव तुह अंतेउरखेत्ते अण्णेण बीयं णिसट्ठं तुह चेव पुत्तो भवति—NC 1, p. 127
4. Altekar, op cit, pp 168-75.
5. For the custom of Satī see–Altekar, op. cit., pp. 143-48.
6 Ibid.
7. See—'Eran Posthumous Pillar Inscription of Goparāja' (A. D. 510-11)—CII. III, No 20, p 93, also No. 2, p. 92.

husbands.[1] In spite of references to self-immolation, the practice of Satī was not universal. A number of widows can be observed as living with the families of their husbands or going back to their paternal house,[2] practising chastity and renunciation and also sometimes embracing the monastic order.[3]

Jaina Attitude Towards Women—Being the expounder of an ascetic religion the attitude of our author towards women could not be very different from the other advocates of his faith. Women as a social entity were not only neglected but also held in contempt by the Jaina and the Buddhist law-givers, as their (women) presence was supposed to be an impediment in their spiritual development—"a bolt barring the city of heaven, a path to the dwelling of hell".[4] Emphasising the agility of the woman-nature, the author in one of his works quotes from other sources in support of his views:[5] "They (women) laugh and weep for the purpose of acquiring money *(arthahetoḥ)*, they make others believe but never believe themselves; therefore a man belonging to a high family and possessing virtues should remain away from women like flowers growing up in the grounds of a cemetery", and "unstable by their very nature like the waves of an ocean, unsteady in their affection like the evening clouds, women discard a person after fulfilling their purpose like the lac-branch squeezed out of its sap."[6] Similar statements can be found in the NC. It has been stated that women are fickle-minded by their very nature and lack the strength of character.[7] Their affection can be easily won over by showering

1. तेसिं पच्च महिलसताइ, ताणि वि अग्गि पावट्ठाणि—NC. 4, p 14; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p. 208
2. NC 2, p 111.
3. NC. 2, p. 261
4. Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 462-63.
5. *Uttarā. Cū.*, p. 65.
6. समुद्रवोचीचपलस्वभावाः संध्याभ्ररेखा व मुहूर्तरागाः। स्त्रियः कृतार्थाः पुरुषं निरर्थकं निपीडितालक्तकवत्त्यजति ॥—*Uttarā. Cū.*, p. 65.
7. पगइ त्ति सभावो। स्वभावेन च इत्थी अल्पसत्त्वा भवति—NC. 3, p. 584.

them with gifts, and they can easily be urged to do even the undesirable actions.[1] Moreover, they are very prone to sexual pleasures and the excitement in the company of men easily overcomes their reasons.[2] Although no evidence of purdah system is recorded in the text, yet it was firmly believed that women should be kept under strict control and could also be beaten for any breach of moral conduct.[3] It was believed that women could accept paramours (*jāra*) even in the form of a father, brother or son.[4] Various instances like daughters and daughters-in-law running away with their paramours[5] or with persons of loose character (*dhūrta-viṭa*)[6], women leaving their illegitimate children in the shelter places of monks,[7] women enticing the monks for sexual intercourse,[8] the *proṣita-patikās* giving food to the monks on a similar condition[9] have been mentioned to emphasise the unstability of their (women's) character. However, such statements do not command the general acceptance of the age[10] and are not supported by the contemporary writings of the other faiths. J. C. Jain has rightly pointed out that these statements are specifically made "with a view to blacken the character of

1. सा य अप्पसत्तत्तणओ जेण वातेण वत्थमादिणा अप्पेणावि लोभिज्जति, दाणलोभिया य अकज्ज पि करेति—Ibid.
2. धवि य ताओ बहमोहाओ। तेसिं च पुरिसेहिं सह संलावं करेंतीणं दाण च गेण्हतीणं पुरिससंपवकातो मोहो दिप्पइ—Ibid.
3. NC. 3, p. 521.
4. जेण बहू महिलियाण कुतकभावा भव ति, पुत्त-पति-पित्ति कहगभावेण य जारे गेण्हति—NC. 3, p. 582.
5. NC. 3, p. 267.
6. NC. 2, p. 265.
7. NC. 2, p. 173.
8. NC. 1, p. 129.
9. Ibid.
10. Varāhamihira in the contemporary period violently protests against the various vices attributed to women. According to him, men are equally guilty of them. See—*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 76. 6, 12, 14, 16, 17; Altekar, op. cit., p. 387.

women in order to warn the lustful monks to keep aloof from the feminine charms that might overcome their reasons".[1]

In spite of this general attitude towards women, an almost equal status was given to the nuns by the Jaina law-givers in their monastic order. They could lead a pure and chaste life in their respective order and thus strive for their spiritual salvation. Most of the rules were common for monks as well as nuns except a few which were specifically made keeping in view the aspect of social security of nuns. It is worthwhile to note that under no circumstances a nun could be expelled from the order. Even when a nun was forcefully raped and was pregnant, she was to be kept in the house of a layman and properly looked after throughout the period of her confinement. She could rejoin the order after the birth of the child and her child could also be initiated in the monastic life.[2] This rule evidently gave a social security to women who once having embraced the monastic life had been unable to live up to the required standards or were forced to deviate from their chosen path due to circumstances beyond their control.

Position of Women—The ideal of womanhood was that one should entirely devote to her husband. The husband, good or bad, was the only refuge of a wife. A story is narrated of a husband who being displeased with the conduct of his wife asked her to leave the house. But on her lamenting that "where should I go as I have no place to go. Even if you beat me, you are my only refuge"[4] the husband was so pleased that he handed over the responsibilities of the household back to her.[5]

Women enjoyed certain rights in other fields also. Mention has been made of the religious works being recited by the

1. LAI., p. 153.
2. सा विहीए भावितसड्ठकुलेसु सगुप्पति—NC. 3, p. 277.
3. NC. 3, p. 234.
4. कतो ण वच्चामि, णा त्थ मे अण्णो गतिविसओ, जति वि मारेहि तहावि तुम चेव गतीसरण त्ति—NC. 3, p. 52.
5. Ibid.

learned women (*viduṣa-strī*).[1] They were versed in the art of music also. The text does not enlighten us much about the method of imparting education to women. In case of nuns, however, we know that curriculum was common for both the monks and nuns. A few texts of very high order were, however, not to be disclosed to the nuns.[2]

Women could freely take part in religious functions. Apart from nuns who led a highly religious life, women are seen attending the sermons delivered by the Ācaryas,[3] giving donations to the monks,[4] and performing various secrifices (*bali*) on auspicious days.[5] Women enjoyed certain economic rights. The wife was regarded as the mistress[6] of house in the absence of the master. It has been stated that "the share (*vibhāga*) which belongs to the hired labourers or slaves, daughters, daughters-in-law and widows is not to be given to any one else as it may lead to conflict and unpleasantness."[7] The word daughter is perhaps used for the unmarried daughters who had a share in the family-property, while the daughter-in-law or the widow received her husband's property. This statement is practically true in case of Jaina society as "according to Jaina law, on the death of a man his widow takes the husband's share as an absolute owner even if there be a son".[8] Herein lies the main difference between the Hindu law and the Jaina law[9], since the right of the widow to inherit her husband's property is not recognised by the Hindu jurists.[10]

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1. स्त्रीणा गीतानि, विदुषस्त्रीणा च पठितानि श्रुत्वा—NC. 2, p. 12; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 701.
2. See Chapter I.
3. NC. 2, p. 257.
4. NC. 2, p. 102; NC. 3, p. 358.
5. NC. 3, p. 410; NC. 2, pp. 174-75.
6. NC. 2, p. 141.
7. एव खरगपुत्तधूयसुण्हाए य विहवाए संतिय विभाग अच्छिदिउ दॆंतस्स अचियत्तदोसा भवंति, असखडिअं च उप्पज्जति—NC. 3, 433.
8. Jain, C. R., *Jain Law*, pp. 80-81.
9. Sangave, op. cit., p. 191.
10. Altekar, op. cit., p. 300.

Public Women—The ancient texts clearly differentiate between the *gaṇikā* and the *veśyā*. *Gaṇikā* was socially respected by the kings and the nobles because of her accomplishments in various fine arts, while *veśyā* earned her livelihood by selling her body for the physical satisfaction of the people.[1] Both the terms later came to be used almost as synonyms,[2] as the chief amongst the *veśyās* came to be known as *gaṇikā*.[3] In the NC. the various terms like *gaṇikā*,[4] *veśyā*,[5] *vesitthī*[6] and *veśastrī*[7] have been used almost as synonyms.

The *Kāmasūtra* defines the *gaṇikā* as a *veśyā* who is accomplished in sixty-four arts.[8] In the NC., however, youth, beauty and other coquetish charms are mentioned as the only requirements for a *gaṇikā*.[9] The *gaṇikās* were supposed to be very beautiful and their company could only be enjoyed by persons capable of paying the suitable price.[10] Thus, she could be approached by the rich people, but it was difficult for a man to leave her company as she excited the passions of a man by her youth and beauty.[11] The residences of the courtisans were known as *gaṇiyāṭhāṇa* (*gaṇikāsthāna*—a brothel).[12] The persons like Viṭa and Ceṭa and even the prostitutes who could not carry on with their professions because of their old age did often indulge in search of beautiful orphan girls to turn them into prostitutes. The Jaina nuns were restricted from accepting

1. For the Buddhist and Jaina information regarding the origin and growth of the institution of *gaṇikās* see—Jain, K. C, *Bauddha aura Jaina Āgamoṁ meṁ Nārī-Jīvana*, pp. 145-66.
2. वारस्त्री गणिका वेश्यारूपजीवा—*Amarakośa*, 2. 6. 19, *Pāiya Sadda Mahaṇṇava*, p. 286.
3. Jain, K. C, op. cit., p. 158.
4. NC. 1, pp. 3, 50, NC. 4, p. 19.
5. NC. 3, p. 399.
6. NC. 2, p. 466, NC. 3, p 586.
7. NC. 2, p. 31.
8. *Kāmasūtra*, 1, p 20.
9. NC. 4, p. 19.
10. NC. 1, p. 50
11. NC. 4, p. 19.
12. NC. 3, p. 586.

clothes even from an old prostitute as she might take the beautiful nuns to the brothel.[1] References make it clear that relationship or contact with the *gaṇikās* had become an object of social condemnation.

Pastimes

Pastimes or amusements, festivals and festivities prevailing in the society show the importance given to the material pursuits and as such indicate a healthy state of society. Various outdoor and indoor pastimes prevailed amongst the people of this age and the form differed in accordance to the material status with the direct bearing on sex and age of the participants. Play-nurses (*kīlāvaṇī dhāī*) were usually engaged by the wealthy citizens to teach various games to the children.[2] Children played with balls (*geṁduga*)[3] and its mention in various Jaina works indicates its popularity.

The young ladies loved to sit on a swing (*āṁdolaga*) with their husbands or lovers and also indulged in wine-drinking (*majjapāṇa*).[4] Sporting in water (*jala-madhye-krīdā*), mentioned as *toya-krīdā* in the literature, was another pastime.[5] Wine and women were a source of amusement for the kings and the nobles, while dice and gambling have been mentioned as their special vices. Picnics were also arranged, especially during the spring season.[6]

The game af dice (*bukkaṇṇa*) was popular.[7] Bāṇa also asserts the existence of this game.[8] Gambling was largely prevalent

1. जुण्णा वेसित्थी, अप्पणा असत्ता वि ठवेत्तुं रूववइं समणिं दट्ठुं अभियोगेज्जा, गणियाठाणे पट्ठवेज्जा—NC. 3, p. 586.
2. NC. 3, p. 404.
3. NC. 3, p. 349.
4. गेंदुगादिसु रमंते मज्जपानआंदोलगादिसु ललंते जलमध्ये क्रीडा—NC. 3, pp. 349-50; also NC. 4, p. 25.
5. NC. 3, pp. 349-50.
6. NC. 4, p. 50.
7. अण्णया बुक्कण्णएण रमंति—NC. 1, p. 17; also NC. 3, p. 349.
8. *Harṣacarita*, p. 65, text p. 78, *Kādambarī*, p. 5.

amongst the lower strata of society. Gamblers were known as *dyūtakaras*, and the *devakulas* situated outside the villages were their famous resorts.[1] Daṇḍin giving a graphic picture of the game appreciates gambling as "a source for developing unexampled magnanimity, since one drops the pile of money like a straw".[2] Wrestling (*mallajuddha*) and boxing (*bāhujuddha*) were popular, and *akkhavāda* (*akṣāṭaka*) was the gymnasium where the wrestlers (*malla*) and the boxers (*muṭṭhiya*) regularly practiced.[3] The bird and animal-fights were also popular. Birds like crows (*carata*), sparrow (*caṭaka*), quail (*lāvaka*) and animals like horses, bulls and elephants were trained for the purpose of fight.[4] Subduing mad horses and elephants was an act of glory for the kings and the princes. Daṇḍin and various Prakrit Jaina stories of contemporary period give a graphic account of the animal and bird-fights and also indicate heavy betting done by the owners of the animals on the occasion of the fights.[5]

The inmates of harem used to teach the birds like parrots and *sārikās* to imitate the human voice as a pastime.[6] Bāna refers to various birds like parrots and *maināṣ* being taught to imitate the human voice once heard.[7] In the villages *goṣṭhīs*[8] or village-concerts used to be frequently held to cater for all social and religious ceremonies. People mostly assembled in the *devakulas* to entertain themselves after the day's work. Here the story-reciters (*kāhaga-akkhāhaga*) used to

1. देवकुलादिसु जूयादिपमत्तो चिट्ठति—NC. 3, pp 227, 380, NC. 2, p 262
2. *Daśakumāracarita*, pp. 209-10, text p. 135, see also—*Kādambarī*, p 81
3. NC. 1, p 157, NC. 4, p 234, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p 346
4. NC. 3, p. 348
5. *Daśakumāracarita*, pp 149-50, text pp. 96-97, *Harṣacarita*, p. 159, Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 34-36.
6. सुक-सालहियादि सिक्खावणं—NC 1, p 6.
7. Agrawala, *Kādambarī. Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 27.
8. NC. 2, p 144-45.

narrate the stories from the Epics and the Purāṇas.[1] Apart from these, performances performed by the actors (*naḍa*), singers (*gojja*), acrobats, bamboo-top-dancers (*laṁkha*) and rope-walkers attracted large audience.[2]

Customs and Beliefs

The NC. displays a wide variety of customs, traditional beliefs and superstitions prevailing in the society at that age. Apart from the usual ancient customs like respect towards elders[3], occupying lower seat in the presence of the elders[4], proper form of salutation,[5] hospitality towards the guests[6], giving of alms to the ascetics and monks by house-holders[7] etc., the author also refers to various beliefs such as potentiality of omens, charms, augaries and dreams. Also listed with them are various supernatural powers or magical practices to counteract the effects of the same or for the acquisition of anything desirable.

Great faith was displayed towards the science of astrology. Rarely a sacred ceremony or significant activity in the material or spiritual field could commence without finding out a suitable time when the *tithi*, *karaṇa*, *muhūrta* and *nakṣatra* were favourable.[8] The 4th, 6th, 8th, 9th and 12th of the bright as well as dark half of the month were considered inauspicious (*appasattha*). Considerable attention was also paid towards the astronomical position of the stars and planets. The following seven positions of planets were considered inauspicious– (i) the planet which rises in the heaven as the sun rises (*saṁjhāgata*); (ii) the planet in which the sun is existing (*Ravigata*); (iii) when the planet has gone opposite to its

1. धम्मत्थकामेसु...कहाओ कहेंता काहिया भवंति––NC 4, p. 26.
2. NC. 2, p. 468.
3. NC. 3, p. 34
4. NC. 1, p 10
5. NC. 4, p. 88.
6. NC 3, p. 415.
7. NC 2, p. 102, NC. 3, p 358
8. NC. 4, p. 302.

usual direction (*viḍḍara*); (iv) when the planet is attacked by another planet (*saggaha*) ; (v) the time of solar and lunar eclipses (*Rāhuhata*); (vi) when a third planet is in line with the sun and the other planet (*vilambī*): (vii) a planet which crosses the path followed by another planet (*gahabhinna*).[1] These situations of the planets were supposed to precipitate dispute (*kalaha*), lack of proper food (*kubhatta*), victory of the enemy (*paravijava*), lack of salvation (*anivvāṇa*), fight (*viggaha*) , death (*maraṇa*) and blood-shed (*soṇiuggāla*) respectively.[2] The planets like Ravi, Soma, Agara (*Mamgala*), Buha, Vihassati, Sukka and Saṇicchara were supposed to be auspicious for the Zodiacs (*rāsi*) like Mesa, Vasabha, Magara, Kannā, Kakkaḍa, Mīna and Tulā respectively.[3] Among the planets Buha, Sukka, Vihassati and Sasi were always considered auspicious.[4]

Due consideration was given to the place (*khetta*) and direction (*disā*) also. The places, which produced lower variety of food-grains, lacked in vegetation and mineral resources, were considered to be inauspicious,[5] while the places where there was abundance of food-grains, mineral resources with plentiful of raw metals and precious stones, were regarded as auspicious.[6] At the time when a pupil was to be initiated, he was required to sit facing the east,[7] while the preceptor used to sit opposite to the pupil. Similar consideration in respect of direction was also kept in view before the dead bodies of the monks were cremated.

Besides the astronomical conditions, certain natural occurences were also taken to indicate good or evil omens (*sauṇa*— Skt. *śakuna*). Meeting a person clad in dirty or unclean clothes or anointed with oil, a dog, a hunch-back, a dwarf, one wear-

1. *N. Bhā*. 6384, NC. 4, p. 301.
2. *N. Bhā*. 8385-86, NC. 4, pp. 301-2.
3. NC. 4, p. 302.
4. Ibid.
5. NC. 4, p. 301.
6. NC. 4, p. 302.
7. Ibid.

ing ochre or coloured clothes, the Kuccandhara or the Sasarkkha ascetics or those besmeared with ashes were regarded to predict the failure of the work in hand.[1] To stumble against a tree branch or striking the head against the same, inquiring a person who is on his way about his destination, sneezing or hearing unpleasant sound when a person is about to leave also indicated impending inauspicious moment. The monks were not to start at such inauspicious moments even if they had to go to a physician.[2] Contrary to these, the sound of the twelve musical instruments being beaten simultaneously or that of Nandimukha, Mṛdanga, Śaṅkha and Paṭaha *(drum)*, the sight of filled vessels, a golden pitcher *(bhiṅgāra)*, umbrella *(chatta)*, fly-whisks *(cāmara)*, the throne *(siṁhāsana)* and the food like curd *(dadhi)* were considered auspicious for ensuring success in the work.[3] The sight of an ascetic or a monk was considered inauspicious *(amaṅgala)* while proceeding on a journey or pilgrimage by some[4], while it was taken as an auspicious omen by the others.[5] While proceeding on a journey or venturing into a commercial enterprise the merchants as well as the monks always considered the fact that the omens were favourable to them.[6]

The science of prognostication *(nimitta)* was highly developed and the fortune-tellers *(nemittiya)* were versed in the eight-fold division of the *mahā-nimittas*.[7] They could foretell profit or loss, happiness or suffering, life or death in the

1. *N. Bhā*.3019 See also—एते णिग्गमपवेसेसु दिट्ठा कज्जं ण साहंति—NC. 3, p. 100.
2. अक्कंत्तितो कहिं वा वच्चसि त्ति पुच्छिओ छीयं वा अमणुण्णसद्दसवणं एवमादिएसु—NC. 3, p. 101.
3. *N. Bhā* 3020; NC. 3, p. 101.
4. जत्ता णिग्गतो वा गिहत्थो साहुं दट्ठु 'अमंगलं' त्ति भण्णति। कुतो अम्हाणं सुहं ति जं पढम ते लुत्तसिरा दिट्ठा—NC. 2, p. 328.
5. साहुं दट्ठूण मंगलं त्ति काउं आवासेति—NC. 2, p. 328.
6. NC. 3, p. 215.
7. नेमित्ती अट्ठंग-णिमित्तसंपण्णो—NC. 1, p. 22.

past, present and future.[1] At the death-bed of a man various universal phenomena *(aritthaga)*, which could forecast the future, could be of three types—(i) physical (*kāyika*) like the throbbing of eyes or arms, (ii) vocal (*vācika)* like the words unconsciously or accidentally uttered which come out to be true in life *(sahasā-bhaṇita)* and (iii) mental like dreams etc.[2]

People firmly believed in the potentiality of dreams (*suviṇa*). The dreams seen in the early hours of the morning were taken to forecast the coming events.[3] Dreams and their results could be of five types—(i) dreams that come out to be true in life (*ahātacca*)—this type of dream could be seen only by holy and pure-minded people, (ii) dreams seen in an unbroken chain (*pratata*), (iii) dreams concurring with the thoughts of a person *(ciṁtā-suviṇa)*, (iv) dreams radically opposite to the actual happenings in life (*vivarīta*), and lastly, (v) the dreams which one does not remember properly or the implications of which cannot be understood by the person concerned (*avvatta*).[4] The science of dreams thus was well-defined, and there is no doubt that the birth of all the great personalities in Jaina, Buddhist as well as Brāhmanic literature is always linked with various dreams which their mothers are apt to behold at the time of conception.

Like the belief in dreams to be seen by the mothers of the great religious personages, it was also believed that such a child would be invested with certain auspicious distinctive body marks as well as certain moral or spiritual qualities to forecast his future greatness. Such distinctive marks were known as *lakṣaṇa* and *vyañjana*.[5] The former could be of two types—the internal marks like the nature, physical strength and other moral virtues etc., and the external marks like speech, complexion and physical marks which could be seen on hands

1. NC. 3, p. 18.
2. NC. 3, pp. 384-85.
3. NC. 3, p. 384.
4. NC. 3, p. 385.
5. *N. Bha.* 4292-3, NC 3, pp. 383-84.

or feet.[1] The Lakṣaṇas were the signs or auspicious marks with which a child was invested at the time of his birth, while the Vyañjana type of marks, i. e. the warts, moles or black spots etc., could appear later in life.[2] Such marks were supposed to be 32 in number in case of ordinary human beings, while its number was 300 in case of Baladevas and Vāsudevas, and 8000 in case of Cakravartins and Tīrthaṅkaras.[3] The science of detecting the auspicious marks was well developed and one versed in it could predict the future of a person.

Disposal of Dead and Funeral Obsequies—Like matrimony and the occasion of birth, death was also accompanied with proper religious rites and ceremonies. Cremation was the usual practice to dispose off the dead bodies. Among the non-Āryans 'burial' seems to have been in vogue. The non-Āryans did not burn their corpses and the place of depositing the corpse was known as *madagagiha* (*mṛtaka-gṛha*).[4] According to the usual practice of cremation, the corpse was taken to the cremation ground (*susāṇa-susāṇakuḍi*) and was properly cremated.[5] On the death of Prabhākaravardhana, Bāṇa informs us that "a pyre befitting the emperor solemnly consumed all but his glory in the flame".[6] Yuan Chwang also refers to three customs of funeral[7]—(i) cremation, (ii) water burial and (iii) interment in the wilds. Of these, cremation was the most popular one.

The rites of collecting the charred bones (*asthisañcayana*)[8] was also observed and the ashes of the charred bones were called *chāra*.[9] Proper rules of cleanliness were to be observed after the funeral. After seeing or touching the corpse, a person

1. NC. 3, p. 383.
2. NC. 3, p. 384
3. NC. 3, p. 383.
4. मडगगिह णाम मेच्छाणं घरब्भतरे मतयं छोढु णिज्जति, न डज्झति—NC. 2, p. 255.
5. मतो दिट्ठो भणति—'किं मज्झ घरं सुसाणकुडी, जेण मत आणेह'—NC. 3, p. 99.
6. *Harṣacarita*, p. 158.
7. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 174; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 86.
8. For the rite of *asthisañcayana* see–Kane, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 240-42.
9. अभिणव-दड्ढं अपुंजकयं छारो भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 22.

was to take a bath with his clothes on.[1] Yuan Chwang also records the same practice that "those who attend a funeral are regarded as unclean and they all wash outside the city walls before entering the city".[2] The house of the deceased or the place where the dead body was kept was to be sprinkled with water and smeared with cowdung.[3] The ancient law-givers believed that "a polluted house is to be purified by being swept and cowdunged."[4]

After death a period of 10 days of impurity was observed during which the near relatives of the deceased were held as impure or uclean.[5] The practice of 10 to 13 days of impurity is enjoyed by almost all the law-givers and is a living practice even now amongst the Jaina[6] and non-Jaina society.[7] Yuan Chwang also observed that no one goes to take food in a family afflicted by death till the funeral rites are over and normalcy dwells once again.[8] The period of impurity ended after offering oblation to the deceased or by observing such other religious rites. Bāna after the death of Prabhākaravardhana narrates "The Brāhmaṇa, who consumes the departed soul's first oblation, has now partaken of his meals. The horror of the days of impurity has passed".[9] Kālidāsa also refers to the same custom when he states that ten days after the death of a father the offering of rice-balls (*piṇḍa*) by the son to the manes of their departed ancestors were considered meritorious.[10] Due consideration was also taken to observe the

1. ततो वेज्जो सचेलो ण्हाएज्ज—NC. 3, p. 99.
2. Watters, op. cit., 1, p 175; Beal, op cit , 1, p 86
3. सव्वम्मि य फलिहए छगणपाणिय देज्ज—NC. 3, p. 99
4. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1 187; *Viṣṇusmṛti*, 23. 56; see also–Kane, op. c Vol. IV, p 231.
5. इत्तरिओ सूयगमतगादिदसदिवसवज्जण—NC. 4, p. 280.
6. Sangave, op cit., p 361.
7. Kane, op. cit , Vol. IV, p. 308.
8. Watters, op cit., 1, p. 175, Beal, op. cit., 1, p. 86.
9. *Harṣacarita*, p. 164, text p. 115.
10. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII. 73.

monthly or yearly Śrāddhas in which food was offered to the Brāhmins in honour of the dead ancestors. Such a feast was known as *mayabhatta* or *kareḍuya-bhatta.*[1] *Hiṁgola*[2] was also another death-feast in which meat was freely offered. A story in the NC. depicts a Jaina monk being unable to get the alms even to break his monthly fast, as all the members of the family were busy in serving food to the Brāhmins (*dhijjātiya*) in such a death-feast (*kareḍuyabhatta*).[3] The feast was held after a month of the death of the deceased which may indicate the practice of observing the monthly Śrāddhas.

The practice of offering *piṇḍas* or rice-balls to the dead ancestors[4] was also obligatory for the family-members. We are informed that proper time for offering *piṇḍa* (rice-balls) to the *pitṛs* (dead ancestors) was during the Maghā Śrāddha.[5] The Maghā Śrāddha mentioned in the NC. is evidently the same as the Māghyāvarṣa Śrāddha[6] which has been highly eulogised by most of the ancient authorities. The *Āvaśyakagṛhasūtra* (II. 59) explains Māghyāvarsa as a rite performed on the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada when generally the moon is in Maghā Naksatra.[7] The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (76. 1. 78) states that the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, is highly appreciable for offering the

1. मयकिच्च करेडुयभत्तं—NC. 3, p. 418. Even now such a feast is known as *karaja-bhatta* in Gujarat, and is given on the 13th day after the death of a person.
2. ज मतभत्तं करडुगादिय त हिंगोल—NC. 3, p. 223.
3. NC. 3, p. 418.
4. पिति-पिंडपदाणं वा पिंडणिगरो—NC. 2, p. 444.
5. पितृपिंडप्रदानकालो मघा श्राद्धेषु भवति—Ibid. Here the editor of the NC. failing to understand the significance of the word *maghā* gives another reading in bracket as *yathā* which is not correct. In the press copy of the NC. prepared by Muni Punyavijaya the reading is to be found as 'Maghaśrāddha' (8, p. 59).
6. For detailed information regarding the 'Māghyāvarṣa' Śrāddha see —Kane, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 360-61.
7. हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तः त्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाख्यं श्राद्धं—Ibid., p. 360.

Śrāddha. According to Yājñavalkya, whatever food is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season, when the moon is in the Maghā, procures endless satisfaction.[1] Evidently, the Maghā Śrāddha must have been observed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada which, according to P. V. Kane, was perhaps a precursor of Mahālaya Śrāddha.[2]

1. तथा वर्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः—*Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1, p. 261.
5. Kane, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 361.

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

"In the life of man the first and foremost are food and clothing. To man these two are the fetter and chain which bind him to the field of rebirth".[1] This statement of contemporary Chinese traveller I-Tsing virtually represents the ascetic spirit of our Jaina author as well. However, it is doubtless to assume that the ordinary life of worldly man is usually governed by these two factors, and that man is simply not satisfied to take them as bare necessities of life. The innumerable varieties of food and drink mentioned in our text and the various efforts at the embellishment of the person—the fine and costly clothes, the ornments decorating the body from hair to toe, the flowers and the garlands, the sweet and agreeable smell of the scents and perfumes purifying the air all around, all claim for a highly aesthetic taste of the people. The author widely refers to the luxuries of the materialistic life[2] in order to show its contrast with the hard and rigorous monastic life, and warn the monks of the untold hardships of the monkhood before venturing to embrace the monastic life. Any attraction or attachment towards the artistic and aesthetic aspects of life was no doubt a disgrace to the monk,[3] but a virtually opposite view of the material-minded people who took the monks to be 'dead-persons' (*mṛta*,[4] because of their renunciation of the

1. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 72,
2. NC. 2, p. 12; NC. 4, p. 3.
3. NC. 2, pp 212, 220.
4. देवी भणति राय—मुतं माणुसं इसति—NC. 2, p. 286.

worldly pleasure and comforts during their life time,[1] is also to be seen in the text. Both these views must have prevailed in society side by side. Here we propose to survey the materialistic achievements of these worldly people, who no doubt formed a majority in society.

Food

Food is the basic necessity of life and our author is well aware of the importance of food in the development of physical body and also its various effects on the mental activities.[2] Dietary discipline for different people, particularly the avoidance of rich and nourishing food, and the use of dry and coarse food for overcoming the carnal human desires, testifies the same fact.[3] Food-articles, however, have been classified into four categories : (i) *asaṇa* or soft food such as boiled rice (*kūra*), (ii) *pāṇa* or beverages like butter-milk, rice-milk, water and wine, (iii) *khāima* or hard food like roots and fruits, and (iv) *sāima* or relishable articles like honey, sugar, betel-leaves etc.[4] It can be visualized that the food of the people must have been rich and varied. The cereals and pulses, milk and its various products, honey and sweets, spices and condiments, fruits and vegetables, the non-vegetarian dishes, the intoxicating liquors as well as other beverages all formed a part of the manifold dietary of the people during this time.

Cereals and Pulses—Most of the food-grains of today were known to the people of this time. The *Niśītha Bhāṣya* refers to

1. इहभवे सव्वसुहवज्जितत्वात् मृतो मृतवत्—Ibid.
2. प्रणीताहारभोजनाद् मोहोद्भवो भवतीत्यर्थः—NC. 2, p. 21.
3. णिव्वीतियमाहारं आहारेति—Ibid.
4. आहारो एगंगितो असणादी चउव्विहो—NC. 3, p. 287
The Buddhist works also divide food into four categories.—*Digha*, 30 (*Lakkhāna Sutta*) Suśruta also mentions four categories of food : (i) *aśitam* (solid), (ii) *pītam* (drink), (iii) *līḍham* (that taken by licking) and (iv) the *khāditam* (that is chewn).—Vide G. P. Majumdar's Article on 'Food', *Indian Cultura*, Vol. 1, p. 413. I-Tsing, however, mentions five solid and five soft varieties of food.—Takakusu, op. cit., p. 43.

twenty-four varieties of food-grains (*dhānya*) which are evidently known to our author also. These include—(i) *java*, (ii) *gohuma* (iii) *sāli*, (iv) *vihi*, (v) *satthiya*, (vi) *koddava*, (vii) *aṇva*, (viii) *kaṁgu*, (ix) *rālaga*, (x) *tila*, (xi) *mugga*, (xii) *māsa*, (xiii) *atasī*, (xiv) *harimaṁtha*, (xv) *tipuḍa*, (xvi) *nipphāva*, (xvii) *alisaṁda*, (xviii) *māsa* (explained as *paṇḍara-cavalaga* in the NC.), (xix) *ikkhu*, (xx) *masūra*, (xxi) *tuvarī*, (xxii) *kulattha*, (xxiii) *dhāṇaga* and (xxiv) *kalā*.[1]

Among these food grains barley (*java*), wheat (*gohuma*) and rice must have been the staple food of the people. I-Tsing informs us : "In the north (of India) wheat flour is abundant, in the western district backed flour (rice or barley) is used above all, in Magadha (in central India) wheat flour is scarce but rice is plentiful and the southern frontier and eastern border land also have similar products to those of Magadha."[2]

Rice appears to have been the most popular of all the food grains,[3] three varieties of rice, viz. (i) *sālī* (fine variety), (ii) *vīhi* (common variety) and (iii) *saṭṭhiya* (rice ripening in sixty days),[4] have been mentioned in the text. According to Cakrapāṇi, rice had three main varieties—*vrīhi* ripening in autumn, *śāli* ripening in winter and *ṣaṣṭika* ripening in sixty days in summer.[5] Yuan Chwang also mentions the variety of rice "which was ready in sixty days for cutting."[6] Of these varieties of rice *śālī* was supposed to be the best. People highly cherished to eat boiled unbroken *śāli* rice, but its use was restricted to the monks on the ground that they might not get accustomed eating delicious food.[7] Of the various

1. *Niśītha Bhāṣya*, 1029-30; see also—NC. 2, p. 109. *Bṛh. Bhā.* (Vol. 2, p. 264) also mentions seventeen varieties of grains.
2. Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
3. NC. 2, p 109, NC. 3, pp. 287, 295, 432.
4. *Niśītha Bhāṣya*, II, 1029-30. See also—NC. 2, p. 109, *Bṛh. Bhā.* 2, p. 264.
5. शालि हैमन्तं धान्यं षष्टिकादयश्च ग्रीष्मकाः व्रीहयः शारदाः—Cakrapâni on *Carakasaṁhitā*, 27.
6. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 300; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 179.
7. NC. 2, p. 236.

sub-varieties of *śāli* rice,[1] the *kalama* variety has been frequently mentioned;[2] it was highly relished and the monks accustomed to delicacies sometimes aspired to eat the boiled *kalama śāli* rice.[3] *Vrīhi* rice was also widely used and *lāyataraṇa* is explained as a kind of gruel (*peya*) prepared from the parched *vrīhi* rice (*lāyā*).[4] It was usually taken by the monks at the end of a long fasting.[5]

Barley (*java*) was another important food-grain. Various preparations of barley such as *apūpas*[6] were common. People often took with them the parched barley-meal (*saktu*)[7] while proceeding on a journey. It was usually mixed with sugar and clarified butter.[8] Wheat (*gohuma*) was also common, and we find the traders going out for trade with carts loaded with wheat.[9] Various types of cakes (*khajjagas*)[10] were prepared from the wheat-flour. *Maṇḍaga*[11] was a type of wheat cake stuffed with molasses and ghee. On certain occasion people in south India used to make a large cake (*maṇḍaga*) containing a *kudava* of wheat flour; it was stuffed with molasses and ghee and was given to a Brāhmaṇa in the early morning.[12]

Besides rice, barley and wheat, certain inferior varieties of grains were also used. While the rich people were fond of taking *śāli-kūra* (boiled *śāli* rice), the poor people ate *koddava-kūra* (paspalum scorbiculatum, Hindi-*kodoṁ*), an inferior variety of rice. We find a poor lady exchanging *koddava-kūra* with the

1. Caraka mentions fifteen good and five inferior varieties of *śāli* rice—*Carakasaṁhitā*, 27 7-8, 11.
2. NC 2, p 233, NC. 3, p 295
3. अज्जो ! आणेह मे कलमसालीकूरं—NC. 3, p 295
4. NC. 1, p. 162
5. कते वा विकिट्ठतवे पारणए लायतरणादी पिएज्ज—Ibid.
6. NC 2, p. 117, NC. 4, p. 130.
7. NC. 3, pp. 117, 295, 436, NC. 4, p. 115.
8. सत्तुआ घयगुलमिस्सा घेप्पंति—NC 4, p. 115.
9. NC. 4, p. 111.
10. NC. 3, p. 295, NC. 4, p. 115.
11. NC. 2, p. 282, NC. 4, p. 115.
12. NC 3, p. 207, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 808.

śāli-kūra of her sister-in-law in order to serve it to her brother who had come as a guest.[1] Besides, *kaṁgu* (setaria italica, Hindi—*kāṁganī*) and *rālaga (māla-kāṁganī* in Hindi) were also inferior varieties of food-grains widely taken by the poor. The grain of *kaṁgu* was a bit larger in size than that of *rālaga.*[2]

Pulses were widely used. The following varieties of pulses have been mentioned in the text : (i) *mugga* (phaseolus mungo), (ii) *māṣa* (phraseolus radiatus), (iii) *harimaṁtha* (gram), (iv) *nipphāva* (carnavali ensiformis, Hindi-*bhatabānas*), (v) *alisaṁda* (a variety of chickpea), (vi) *masūra* (lens esculenta or lentils), (vii) *tuvarī* (cajanus indicus, Hindi-*ādhakī* or *arahara*), (viii) *kulattha* (delichos biflorus, Hindi-*kulathī*), (ix) *kalāya* (pisum arvens, Hindi-*matara)* and (x) *caṇaka (*cicer arietinum*).*[3]

Among these pulses *mugga* and *māṣa* have been frequently mentioned, but it seems that the *māṣa* pulse was not liked by children. We find a school boy mistaking the soup of the *māṣa* pulse to be that of flies.[4] *Caṇaka* or grams were also very popular.[5] Various types of soups were prepared out of these pulses, and the flour of pulses was also used in making certain saline preparations like the thin cakes usually known as *parpatas.*[6] Evidently, these cereals and pulses formed integral part of the Indian dietary.

Dairy Products—Milk and various milk-products were a part of the daily diet of the Indians. Milk mixed with sugar was supposed to be the most condusive to health.[7] Apart from the cow-milk, the milk of buffaloes, sheep, goats and camels was also used for the purpose of drinking as well as for making curd.[8] Amongst the various preparations

1. सा य दारिद्दा कोद्दवकूरो रज्जइ—NC. 3, p. 432
2. बृहच्छिरा कंगू, अल्पतरशिरा रालकः—NC. 2, p. 109.
3 NC. 2, p. 109.
4. NC 1, p 15.
5. NC. 2, p. 237; NC. 3, pp 327, 462.
6. NC 2, p. 447.
7. पयसक्कराणं आयारो—NC. 1, p. 6; खीरं च खंडसक्कराचित—NC. 3, p. 102.
8. NC. 2, p. 238.

of milk *pāyasa* or milk-rice prepared from the fresh milk was highly relished. It was largely served during the feasts.[1] Curds (*dadhi*) were extesnively consumed. Milk and curds are mentioned as articles which became stale very soon.[2] Butter-milk, variously called as *takra*,[3] *udasī*[4] or *chāsī*[5] in the text, was much liked, and the milk-maids can be seen selling the butter-milk from village to village.[6] Fresh butter (*navanīta*)[7] was taken, but clarified butter (*sarpiṣ*[8] or *ghṛta*[9]) was mostly used in preparing daily food as well as the various fine dishes like *apūpas*, *maṇḍagas*, *khajjagas* etc. People liked to mix clarified butter in the parched barley-meal.[10] All the five dairy products, i. e. milk, curd, butter, clarified butter and butter-milk, could be easily procured from the *dohaṇa-vāḍaga* or dairy where the cows were milked.[11] These products were stored in the *khīrasālā*.[12] In certain parts of the country milk and milk-products like the curds and rice-milk were included in the daily diet of the people, and even the Jaina monks, who were usually prohibited from accepting rich and nourishing food, were allowed to accept the same in those regions.[13] Apparently, milk and milk-products were abundantly

1. खणकाले पायसो णवगपयसाहितो--NC 3, p. 147.
2. खीरदहिमादिया विणासी जे ते असंचइया—NC. 2, p 250.
3. NC. 1, p. 92 According to *Mānasollāsa* (III. 1527), *takra* contained three parts of curd with one part of water.
4. NC. 1, p. 92. *Udasī* mentioned as *udasvitsa* in the *Mānasollāsa* (III. 1571) was a solution of curd with equal quantity of water (vide—Om Prakash, *Food and Drink in Ancient India*, p. 293). *Takra* and *udasī* have been used as synonyms in the NC.
5. NC 1, p. 92.
6. NC. 1, p. 8.
7. NC. 2, p. 238; NC. 3, p. 135.
8. NC 2, p. 145.
9. NC. 2, p. 238; NC. 3, p. 135.
10. सत्तुगेसु घत दायव्वमेव—NC 3, p. 436.
11. NC. 2, p. 145.
12. NC. 2, p. 456.
13. कम्हि य देसे गामे वा सो चेव दहिखीराति आहारो हवेज्ज, तत्थ विणा कारणेण आहारेज्ज —NC. 2, p. 243.

used. Yuan Chwang[1] as well as I-Tsing[2] informs us that milk and its products were available everywhere in India.

Sweets—Honey, sugar and various sweet-preparations were necessary items of food. Honey (*madhu*) was fairly used.[3] Three varieties of honey have been mentioned :(i) *kohtiya*, (ii) *makkhiya* and (iii) *bhāmara*.[4] *Kohtiya* was honey collected from sprouts of the mango tree, while the latter two were collected from small and big black bees. These three varieties of honey have been mentioned in other Jaina texts also, but the latter has been usually called *kuṭṭiya*.[5] According to Caraka, honey collected from small bees (*mākṣika*) was considered to be the best, while that of big black bees (*bhrāmara*) is heavy to digest.[6] In the NC., however, honey is included in the 'contemptible articles' (*apraśasta-vikṛti*)[7] along with meat and wine, and its use was interdicted to the monks in usual circumstances.

Sugarcane (*ikkhu*) and its products were widely used as sweetening ingredients. Juice of sugarcane was extracted through juice-extracting machine (*ikkhu-jamta*)[8] and various products like *guḍa* (treacle)[9], *phāṇita* (inspissated juice of sugarcane)[10], *khaṇḍa* (raw or unrefined sugar), *sarkarā* (granulated or crystal sugar)[11] and *macchaṇḍiya* (sugarcandy)[12] etc. were made out of it. Two varieties of *guḍa* have been mentioned : (i) *chiḍaguḍa* and (ii) *khaḍahaḍa*.[13] Difference between

1. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 178, Beal, op. cit., 1, p. 88.
2. Takakusu, op. cit , p. 44.
3. NC. 2, p. 394; NC. 3, p. 135
4. महूणि तिण्णि—कोंतियं, मक्खियं, भामरं च—NC. 2, p. 298.
5. *Āv. Cū.* II. 39; *Ācārāṅga*, II, 1. 4, *Uttarā.*, 19. 70.
6. माक्षिकं प्रवर तेषां विशेषाद् भ्रामरं गुरु:—*Carakasaṁhitā*, 27. 342.
7. NC. 2, p. 394; NC. 3, p. 195.
8. NC. 4, p. 127.
9. NC 2, p. 238; NC. 3, p. 422.
10. NC. 2, p. 238.
11. NC. 3, pp. 102, 295.
12. खीरं च मे कढिरं [illegible]—NC. 3, p. 295.
13. फाणिओ गुलो भण्णति, सो दुविहो—छिड्डगुडो खडहडो य—NC. 2, p. 238, Cf. *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 970.

these two has not been made clear. *Macchaṇḍiya* is also mentioned as a sweetening ingredient.[1] According to Caraka[2] and Suśruta[3] , it was a variety of sugarcandy, the crystals of which were globular in shape like the egg of the fish. These varieties of sugar have been mentioned by the earlier authorities also.[4]

The abovementioned varieties of sugar were used in making various fine sweet-preparations. Among the various sweets *apūpas* or *pūvas* (cakes made of rice or barley-meal and cooked in clarified butter on slow fire)[5] appear to have been the most popular. The *pūvas* were sold at the the confectioner's shop, which was specially called *pūviyaghara*[6] *Ghayapuṇṇa* was another sweet-preparation. It was also called *ghayapūra*[7] (Skt. *ghṛtapūra*) or *havipūya* (Skt. *haviṣpūpa*), because a large quantity of clarified butter was used in it.[8] *Ghṛtapūra* has been explained as a cake prepared with fine wheat-flour mixed with milk and fried in *ghee*.[9] According to Suśruta, small pieces of coconut were also added to it.[10]

Iṭṭagā (Skt. *iṣṭakā*) was another variety of sweet, perhaps prepared from barley-meal by adding *ghṛta* and molasses to it.[11] *Khajjagas*[12] and *maṇḍagas*[13], as mentioned before, were

1 NC 3, p 295. See also—NS VIII. 18.
2. *Carakasaṁhitā*, 27, 339
3. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, 45 162.
4. *Arthaśāstra*, 2 15 15.
5 Om Prakash, op cit , p 284.
6. आसण्ण पूवियघराओ वा पूवे किणेज्ज—NC. 2, p 117
7. अवभेयगे वा घयपूरभक्खण—NC. 3, p. 97, also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p 1005
8. हवि त्ति, तत्थ जो पूतो पच्चति सो हविपूयो, सो य घयपुण्णो भण्णति सचार्यं घते पक्खित्ते—NC 2, p. 280.
9. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 145
10. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, 46. 393.
11. ताहिं (इट्टगाहिं) गुलघयवज्जियाहिं ण कज्जं—NC 3, pp 419-20.
12. NC. 3, p. 205, NC 4, p. 115.
13. NC. 2, p. 282, NC. 3, pp. 207, 295.

fine wheat-cakes. These were usually stuffed with molasses and *ghee*, but sometimes plain cakes were also prepared with which *guda* was separately taken.[1] *Laḍḍugas*[2] or *modagas*[3] were sweet-balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar. *Tila-modagas*[4] were evidently the sweet-balls prepared with the sesamum seeds. *Pūḍalagas*[5] are mentioned along with *laḍḍugas;* perhaps it might have also been a similar preparation.

Amongst other sweet-preparations, *moraṇḍaga*[6] and *pūvaligā* or *pūvigā*[7] have also been mentioned. According to *Aṁgavijjā*, *moraṇḍaga* was a sweet prepared with inspissated milk in the shape of the egg of a peacock.[8] *Pūvaligās* or *pūvigās* were small cakes of rice or wheat-flour. *Śaṣkuli* or *parpaṭi*[9] mentioned in the text appears to be a variety of thin cakes prepared from rice-flour. Amongst the milk-products *pāyasa*,[10] as noted before, was a favourite sweet-dish of the people and it was largely served in feasts.

Salts and Spices—Salts and spices were used for seasoning food and the word *vyañjana* denoted seasoned food.[11] It is stated that food (i. e. *odana)* becomes more relishable by adding spices to it.[12] Different varieties of salt were in common use of which *vida* was black-salt[13], while *sāmudraka* (sea-salt) and *siṁdhava*[14] (rock-salt) are mentioned as two sub-varieties of

1. मुद्दे मडग पक्खिविता पच्छा गुलाणि पक्खिवति—NC. 2, p. 282.
2 NC 2, p. 55.
3. NC. 1, p 15.
4. NC. 4, p. 130.
5. NC. 1, p. 15.
6 NC 4, p. 130
7. Ibid
8 *Aṁgavijjā*, p. 182.
9. NC 2, p. 447.
10 NC. 3, p. 147.
11 NC. 2, p. 167, NC. 1, p. 12.
12. जहोदणरसो वंजणसंयोगा व्यत्तो भवति—NC. 1, p. 12.
13. विडं कृष्णलवणं—NC. 2, p. 446.
14 NC. 3, p. 287.

ubbhijja or *ubbhetima* salt (kitchen-salt).[1] In certain regions where salt was not easily available, it was extracted by boiling the salt earth (*ūsa—khāra-bhūmi*) in the water. This type was called *bila-loṇa* or earth-salt.[2] People in these regions did not put salt in food at the time of cooking, but took it separately whenever required.[3] These different varieties of salt have been mentioned by the ancient as well as contemporary authorities[4], and according to Suśruta, *saindhava* (rock-salt) was the best of all.[5]

The spices were known as *vesaṇa*[6] or *vesavāra*.[7] Various spices like *jīraga* (cummin),[8] *himgu* (asafoetida),[9] *dhāṇaga* or *kuthumbhari*[10] (corriander), *mariya* (black-pepper)[11], *pippali* (long-pepper)[12], *allagaphala*[13] or *simgavera* (ginger)[14], *sumṭhi* (dry-ginger),[15] *hariddā* (tumeric),[16] *harītakī* (terminilia chebula)[17] and *bhūtataṇa* (andropogo martini)[18] etc. have been

1. उब्भेतिमं पुण सयंरुहं जहा सामुद्दं सिंधवं वा—NC. 3, p. 287.
2. जत्थ विसए लोणं णत्थि तत्थ ऊसो पच्चति, त बिललोणं भण्णति—Ibid.
3. तत्थ पुण दुल्लभलोणे देसे उवक्खडिज्जमाणे लोणं ण छुब्भति, उवरि लोणं दिज्जति—NC. 1, p 67.
4. Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, II. 15. 16) mentions six varieties of salt. In the *Carakasaṁhitā* (1. 88-89) five varieties of salt are mentioned.
5. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, 46. 339.
6. NC. 2, p 251, cf. *Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, p. 473.
7. NC. 2, p. 467. Om Prakash interprets the term *veśavāra* as a stuffing in which spices were added to (op. cit, p. 113). From the NC., however, it appears to have been a common term used for spices.
8. NC. 2, p. 251, NC 3, p 288
9. Ibid.
10. NC. 2, p. 109.
11. NC. 3, p. 287.
12. Ibid.
13. NC. 3, p. 11.
14. NC. 3, p. 287.
15. Ibid.
16. NC. 3, p. 149.
17. NC. 3, p. 516.
18. NC. 3, p. 319.

frequently mentioned. The process of seasoning food was almost similar to what we find today, i.e. the clarified butter was heated in a large spoon (*kaḍacchuya*), and then the spices like asafoetida and cummin etc. were fried in it.[1] The spices were freely used in preparing various soups (*sūpa*)[2] and sauces. Amongst these *temaṇa*[3] or soup prepared with curd, and a sauce prepared with dry ginger and sugar[4] have been mentioned.

Oil and Oil-seeds—Oil (*tella*) was used as a substitute for butter or *ghee*.[5] Various types of oil-seeds like *atasī* (Linum Usitatissimum, linseed)[6], *eraṇḍa* (Ricinus Communis, castor-seed)[7], *ingudī* (Ximenia Aegyptiaca), *sarṣapa* (Brassica Campesbri, mustard)[8], and *tila* (Sesamum Indicum)[9] are mentioned. Oil must have been extracted out of these seeds. Sesamum oil (*kharasaṇha*) was widely used, and *piṇṇāya* (Skt. *piṇyāka*) is especially mentioned as a sweet prepared from the viscous sediment of sesamum in which *guḍa* and sesamum oil was also mixed.[10] Mustard oil was fairly used. Yuan Chwang also found that mustard oil was in c

Fruits and Vegetables—A large variety of fruits and vegetables were used by the people, some of which have been referred to in our text. The following fruits have been mentioned: (i) *āmalaka* (Emblic Myrobalan)[11], (ii) *āmra*, *aṁba* or *rasāla*

1. खारो लोणं छुब्भइ कडच्छुते घयं ताविज्जति, तत्थ जीरगादि छुब्भति, तेण जं धूविधं तं फोडियं भवति—NC. 2, p. 251; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p 473.
2 NC 3, p 159.
3 NC 2, p 251.
4. NC 3, p. 159.
5. स्नेहो घृतं तैलं वा—NC. 3, p. 159; also NC. 4, p.115.
6. NC. 2, p. 109.
7. तेल्लं एरंडादि—NC. 3, p. 159.
8. NC. 4, p. 153.
9 NC 2, p. 109.
10. असति घयस्स खरसण्हगुलमिस्सो पिण्णाओ घेत्तव्वो—NC. 4, p. 115.
11. NC. 1, p. 162.

(Mangifera Indica, mango)[1], (iii) *bādara* (Zizyphus Sp.)[2], (iv) *ciñcā* (Tamarind), (v) *dāḍima* (Punica Grantum, pomegranate)[3], (vi) *drākṣā*, *muddiā* or *mṛdvīka* (Vitis Vinifera, grapes)[4], (vii) *kadalī* or *kayalaka* (Musa Sapientum, plantain, banana), (viii) *kapittha* (Feronica Limonia)[5], (ix) *karamarda* (Carissa Carandas Lim), (x) *Karīra* (Cappris Aphyalla)[6], (xi) *kharjūra* (Phoenix Sylvestrus, dates)[7], (xii) *mātuluṅga* (Citrus Medica)[8], (xiii) *tālaphala* (Barassus Flabelli Formis)[9] , (xiv) *teṁduga* (Diospyros Cembryapteres)[10] and (xv) *udumbara (*Ficus Glowmerata*).*[11]

Amongst the fruits, mango appears to have been the favourite one, but it, if taken in a large quantity, could cause the disease cholera *(viśūcikā).*[12] The *āmalaka* fruit was usually taken with granulated sugar, the *kharjūra (*dates*)* with *guḍa* and *ghee*, but the *kapittha* and *ciñcā (*tamarind*)* were to be taken with salt only.[13]

Various delicious drinks and beverages were prepared from fruits like mangoes, grapes, tamarind etc.[14] Four different methods for ripening fruits were in vogue.[15] The fruits like mango were ripened by covering them with husk and straw *(iṁdhaṇa)*. The fruits like *teṁduga* and others were subjected to a heating process *(dhūma)* for the purpose of ripening by keeping them in undergound hollows. The fruits

1. NC. 2, p. 237.
2. NC. 1, p. 9; NC. 3, p. 319.
3. NC. 2, p. 213
4. NC. 4, p. 115.
5. NC. 3, p. 319.
6. NC. 1, p. 66.
7. NC. 4, p. 415.
8. NC 3, p. 482.
9. NC 3, p. 489.
10. NC. 3, p. 484.
11. NC. 1, p 60.
12. रसाले वा अतिभुत्ते वीसूइयाति—NC. 2, p. 237.
13. NC 1, p. 162; NC. 3, pp. 259, 319.
14. NC. 2, p 123.
15. इंधणपलिआमं धूमपलियामं गंधपलियामं वच्छपलियामं, चउव्विहा पलियामविधी —NC. 3, p. 484.

like *mātuluṅga* and mangoes were also ripened by mixing them with ripe fruits *(gandha)*. Lastly were the fruits ripened on trees *(vaccha)* in their natural process.[1] The forests yielded a rich crop of fruits *(pauraphala)*[2], from where the people carried the fruits to villages and towns in carts or waggons. India in those days must have been rich in fruits[3], although the Jaina monks were not allowed to eat many of these fruits on the ground that it amounted to the killing of a number of souls.[4]

Vegetables were also a necessary item of food. It was believed that food *(āhāra)* taken with vegetables was easily digestible.[5] Most of the vegetables would have been consumed by the people during this time, although only a few have been occasionally mentioned in the text. These are : (i) *alābu* or *lāu* (Lagenarea Vulgaris)[6], (ii) *āsuri* (a kind of Brassica)[7], (iii) *kalāya* (field-pea)[8], (iv) *kovidāra* (Bauhinia Variegata), (v) *kusumbha* (safflower), (vi) *lasuṇa* (garlic root)[9], (vii) *mūlaga* (radish)[10], (viii) *nimba* (Margosa tree), (ix) *ṇipphāva* (flat beans)[11],(x) *palaṇḍu* (Allium Cepa, onion)[12], (xi) *saṇa* (Crotalaria Juncea), (xii) *sarisava* (Brassica Compestris, mustard)[13], (xiii) *nīluppala* (blue lotus)[14] and (xiv) *vāluṁka* (cucumber).[15]

1 Ibid.
2. NC. 3, p 490.
3. See—Yuan Chwang's description of Indian fruits—Watters, op. cit. I, pp. 292-93.
4. NC. 1, pp. 88-90; NC. 3, pp. 516-17.
5. वणस्सतिकाएण य सुहं आहारो णिप्फज्जति—NC. 3, p. 517.
6. NC. 1, p 70.
7. आहसहातो करमद्दियादिफला मूलगपत्तं आसुरिपत्तं च—NC. 3, p. 319.
8. NC 3, p. 327.
9. NC 3, p 489.
10. NC. 3, p. 319.
11. NC 2, p. 109.
12. NC 3, p. 489.
13. NC. 4, p. 153.
14. NC. 3, p 319.
15. NC. 1, p. 103.

The leafy vegetables were called by a generic term *śāka* or *sāga*.[1] Certain vegetables were held in contempt by the Jainas because of their very species (*jātidugumchita*). Onion (*palaṁḍu*) and garlic (*laśuṇa*) have been specially cited as examples[2] and their use was severely condemned by the Jaina monks. The avoidance or contempt against the use of onion and garlic may be traced from the earliest times.[3] Both the contemporary Chinese travellers, Yuan Chwang[4] and I-Tsing[5], noted that the people generally avoided the use of onion and garlic.

Meat Diet—Besides the vegetarian diet the non-vegetarian food was also consumed. Meat-diet was prominent amongst the lower castes[6], but even the higher castes like the Brāhmaṇas[7] seem to have had no objections to meat-eating. The animals were sacrificed in the sacrifices (*yajña*);[8] evidently, the meat of the animal thus sacrificed was partaken by the sacrificers. People usually abstained from meat-eating during the month of Kārtika at the end of which feasts (*saṁkhaḍī*) were observed in which meat-preparations were first offered to the Brāhmaṇas and were later partaken by the other members.[9] During the exceptional circumstances the Brāhmaṇas were permitted to take even impure meat like that of dogs.[10] It was

1. NC. 1, p. 51; NC 2, p. 65.
2. जातिदुगुंछितं जहा लसुणमादी, आदिग्गहणेणं पलंडुण्हेमुरुडगफल तालफलं च—NC. 3, p. 489; cf. *Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, p 277.
3. See—*Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, 91. 38-39, *Manusmṛti*, 10 126. Fa-Hien also informs us that onion and garlic were taken only by Cāṇḍālas—Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p 43
4. Watters, op. cit, II, p. 178
5. Takakusu, op. cit, pp. 45, 138
6. NC 3, pp 518, 521.
7. NC. 2, p. 223' NC 3, pp 429, 527
8. जणे च्छगलाणं गलं वलेंति धिज्जातिया—NC. 3, p. 429.
9. कत्तियमासादि अमंसभक्खणवते गहिते तम्मि पुण्णे मंसादिपगरणं काउं धिज्जातियाण दाउं पच्छा सयं पारेंति—NC. 3, p. 223.
10. The Brāhmanas can be seen killing their own dogs in order to take their meat to save their life while being lost in a desert (NC. 3, p. 527; cf. *Bṛh. Bhā*. 1, 1013-16). The Vedic authorities also allow meat-eating

believed that even the Vedas enjoin meat-diet in order to save one's own life rather than starving unto death.[1] The rich, sumptuous feasts of this time were known as *saṁkhaḍī* because of the fact that a large number of animals were killed on such occasions.[2] People from all strata of the society partook in these feasts;[3] evidently, they had no objections to meat-eating. There was a section of people who even believed that "there is no fun in taking wine without eating meat", and they propounded the theory that "there is nothing wrong in taking meat of the animals killed by others."[4]

Meat had three main varieties—meat of the aquatic animals like fish etc., meat of the birds, and that of the beasts.[5] Fish was largely taken by the people[6], and the fishermen used to go out for fishing early in the morning with fishing hooks in their hands.[7] Fish was even dried and stored at a place called *maccha-khala.*[8] The hunters were regularly paid by their masters for bringing meat.[9] It could be easily acquired from the market as well.[10] Meat of buffa-

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in exceptional circumstances The sages Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra are mentioned to have saved their life by eating the flesh of a dog and a cow.—*Manusmṛti*, 10. 106.

1 NC 3, p. 527.

2. सखडि त्ति—आउआणि जम्मि जीवाण सखडिज्जंति सा सखडी—NC. 2, p. 206.

3 NC. 2, p. 207

4. केरिसं मज्जपाण विणा विलंकेण, परमारिए य मंसे को दोसो—NC. 3, p. 521.

The author here seems to refer to the Buddhist theory according to which a Buddhist monk is allowed to take meat which is not purposely killed for him. I-Tsing clearly states that "the three kinds of meat that are pure are ordained as meats that can be eaten without incurring guilt" (Takakusu, op. cit., p. 58). Three kinds of pure meat were the meat which is not seen *(dṛṣṭa)*, heard *(śruta)* and suspected *(pariśaṁkita)* to have been expressly killed for him. *(Mahāvagga*, VI. 31. 14. 2*)*.

5. NC. 2, p. 238.

6. NC. 3, pp. 222, 271

7. NC. 2, pp 9, 281

8. NC. 3, p. 222.

9. NC. 4, p 280.

10. NC. 1, p 55

loes[1], goats[2], dogs[3] and cows[4] has been specifically mentioned in the text, although meat of other animals might have also been used. Various preparations of boiled (*pakkāṇi*) as well as fried (*taliyāṇi*) meat and meat-soup (*timmaṇa*) were made.[5] The meat-soup (*māṁsa-rasa*) was supposed to be highly conducive to health.[6] In some of the feasts meat or fish was offered first (*maṁsādi, macchādi*), while the other articles like rice (*odana*) etc. were served later.[7] Meat was dried at a place called *maṁsa-khala*[8] and was stored for the season. The Mlecchas and the other lower castes, however, seem to have been more accustomed to take fish and uncooked meat.[9] Besides, as noted before, the Pulindas and the other untouchable castes were habituated of taking meat of the dead cows.[10] It can thus be assumed from the above account that meat-eating was largely in vogue.

The non-vegetarian diet was common in society, but it has always been a matter of dispute as to what the Jaina monks did in regard to non-vegetarian food. Various contradictory views have been held by different scholars.[11] In the NC. honey, meat and wine have always been regarded as contemptible articles (*garahiya-vigatı, appasattha-vigati*),[12] the use of which was not allowed to a monk in normal circumstances.[13] We know that the Jaina monks even abstained from

1. Ibid.
2. NC. 3, p. 429.
3. NC 3, p 527.
4. NC. 3, p. 521
5. पक्काणि य तलियाणि य तिम्मणेसु य अणेगसो मसप्पगारा भक्खयति—NC 1, p. 55.
6. 'बलं' मम भविस्सति त्ति मसरसमादि आहारेति—NC. 1, p 158
7. जम्मि पगरणे मंसं आदीए दिज्जति पच्छा ओदणादि, तं मंसादि भण्णति—NC. 3, p. 222.
8. मंसखलं जत्थ मंसाणि सोसिज्जंति, एवं मच्छखलं पि—Ibid.
9. एवं तस्स छगलस्स जीवंतस्सेव गायाणि छेत्तुं छेत्तुं खइयाणि—NC. 3, p. 518.
10. NC 3, p. 521.
11. For references see—Shah, M.V , *Jainism and Meat-eating*; also Prof. Kosambi's article on Meat-eating in *Purātattva* (3. 4, p. 323).
12. गरहिय बिगतीओ मज्जमंसादिया—NC. 1, p. 141.
13. 'अपेयं' मज्जमांसरसादि—NC. 2, p 124.

night-food, lest it might involve killing insects[1], or they might unknowingly accept the prohibited articles like the meat-preparations which could be harmful for them.[2] Innumerable rules imposed upon the monks while going on their begging-round (*gocarī*)[3] also reveal that the monks had to exercise utmost care in accepting the alms.

In spite of these various injunctions, it can be seen that the Jaina monks did accept meat-diet during unusual circumstances. It is clearly stated in the text that honey, wine and meat may be taken by the monks under the exceptional circumstances (*avavāda*).[4] The author even believes that meat-eating is better than accepting the food especially prepared for the monks (*ahākammiya*) or the night-food (*addhāṇa-kappa*).[5] During such circumstances the monks were to exercise their own judgement keeping in view the regional customs. In those regions where people were not aware of the vegetarian habits of the Jaina monks, the monks were expected to prefer meat-diet (*pisita*) rather than accepting the night-food or food especially prepared for them.[6] But in the regions where people were aware of the fact that the Jaina monks were not allowed to take meat, the monks were exhorted to take night-food or food especially prepared for them.[7] Sometimes while passing through the robbers' settlements (*teṇapalli*) with large caravans (*sattha*) the monks were forced to

1. NC. 1, p 141.
2. Ibid.
3. NC. 2, pp. 113-17.
4. मधु-मज्ज-मंसा अववाते दट्ठव्वा—NC. 2, p. 394; see also—NC. 3, p. 136.
5. NC. 1, pp. 148-49.
6. जत्थ साहू णज्जंति जहा "मंसं ण खायंति" तत्थ वरं अद्धाणकप्पो, ण पिसियं, जत्थ पुणो ण णज्जति तत्थ वरं पिसितं, ण णिसिभत्तं, मूलगुणोपघातत्वात् गुरुतरप्रायश्चित्तत्वात् च—NC. 1, p. 149.
7. णाए त्ति जत्थ णज्जति जहा—"एते समणा मंसं ण खायंति" तत्थ सलिंगेण पिसिते घेप्पमाणे उड्डाहो भवति, अतो वरं अहाकम्मं ण पिसियं—NC. 1, p 148. Also पिसित्ते त्ति जत्थ गिहत्था जाणंति जहा साहूणं ण वट्टति पिसियं घेत्तुं⋯भुत्तुं च तत्थ जइ सलिंगेण गेण्हति चउगुरुगं—NC. 1, p. 152.

accept meat-diet.[1] In such circumstances, greater punishment was enjoined upon a monk who accepted meat while wearing his monk-robes (*saliṁga*).[2]

Besides, meat was also taken by the Jaina monks for purposes other than eating. It is said to have been used for curing certain diseases like fistula (*bhagandara*).[3] The oil *haṁsatella*, which was extracted from the body of a swan, was also used for medicinal purposes.[4] Keeping in view the various references that are found in the text, we have to accept that the Jainas took a practical view of the question of flesh-eating[5], and that the NC. at least allows the monks to save their life even by taking meat, although the monks had to atone for it during their later period of life.

Drink—As in food so in drinks a great variety ranging from fresh water, milk and butter-milk to perfumed water, juices, syrups as well as intoxicating liquors[6], can be found. Fresh water was procured from wells, ponds, springs and rivers for drinking. In the Tosali Viṣaya water of ponds (*tāla*) was used for drinking which was termed *tālodaka*[7], water of springs or streams was called *dhārodaka*[8], while the water brought from the great rivers like Ganges or Sindhu was termed as *mahāsalilodaka*.[9] In Rājagṛha hot-water-springs (*tavodaga*) existed in abundance.[10]

1 NC. 3, p. 217.
2. जत्थ सत्थे गामे वा जणो विसेस जाणति—जहा साहू पिसित न भुंजंति, तत्थ जति सलिंगेण पिसितग्गहण करेंति तो चउलहु—NC. 3, p. 217.
3. पोग्गलं मंसं, तं गहेऊण भगंदले पवेसिज्जति, ते किमिया तत्थ लग्गंति—NC 1, p. 100.
4. NC 1, p. 121.
5. LAI., p. 127.
6. पाणे तक्क-खीर-उदग मज्जादी—NC. 3, p. 287.
7. तावोदगं रायगिहे—NC. 4, p. 43
8. धारोदगं जहा सत्तधारादिसु—NC 4, p. 38
9. महासलिलोदगं गंगासिंधुमादीहि—Ibid.
10. तावोदगं रायगिहे—NC 4, p. 43; also तापतोयानि राजगृहादौ—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 959.

Water was usually perfumed with various ingredients like *karpūra* (camphor)[1] and *pāṭala* (trumpet-flower)[2] for drinking purposes. The water fumigated with four to five fragrant substances (*caumūla, pañcamūla*)[3] was largely served to the guests in feasts and garden-parties. It was considered to be beneficial for the patients as well.[4] Even the expectant mothers sometimes craved to drink such water as their pregnancy-longing (*dohada*).[5] These fragrant substances have no where been enumerated in the text, but according to the commentary on the *Bṛhat-kalpa-Bhāṣya* these were *elā* (Cardamaom), *tvak* (Cinnomomum Zeylonicum), *tamālapatra* (Jamaica pepper, pimento) and *nāgakesara* (Calophyllum Inophyllum).[6] The water fumigated with five fragrant substances (*pañcamūla*) must have been similar to the *pañca-sāra-pāṇaka* of the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* which was prepared by boiling water with five spices like ginger, *asaṇa*, *nāgaramothā etc.*[7] Bāna also frequently refers to perfumed water which was largely taken in summer. It is said that "the fierce heat of the sun made people long not only to drink water perfumed with the strong scent of trumpet-flower (*pāṭala*) but even to drink up the very wind."[8]

A large number of fruit-juices and syrups were prepared from the flowers, fruits and sugarcane products. *Khaṇḍapāṇaka, sarkarāpāṇaka* and *gulapāṇaka* were the syrups prepared by mixing water with raw-sugar (*khaṇḍa*), refined sugar (*sarkarā*) and molasses (*guḍa*).[9] *Gulapāṇiya* is explained as water boiled

1. *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 957.
2. NC. 4, p. 41.
3. चउहिं पचहिं वा अण्णतरेहिं सुरभिमूलेहिं वाणट्ठा संभारकडं—NC. 4, p. 49; also *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 969.
4. NC. 4, p. 41.
5. Ibid.
6. अपरं च चतुर्जातकसुकृतसम्भारा एला-त्वक्-तमालपत्र-नागकेसराख्यैश्चतुर्भिर्गन्धद्रव्यैराधिवासेनोपजनितवासा—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 970.
7. *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, III. 31.
8. *Harṣacarita*, p. 31, text p. 52.
9. खंड-पानक-गुल-सक्करा-दालिम-मुद्दिता-चिंचादिपाने—NC. 2, p. 123.

in *guḍa*; it must have been the same as *guḍodaka*[1] mentioned by other authorities. Then there were syrups prepared from the juices of pomegranate (*dālima*), grapes (*drākṣā*, *muddiā*, *mṛdvikā*), tamarind (*ciñcā*), and other similar fruits.[2] Among these the syrup prepared from the grape-juice (*drākṣāpāṇaka*) was regarded as the best.[3] The water fumigated with the juices of mango-fruit (*sahakāra*), and flowers of *pāṭala* (trumpet-flower) and *utpala* (blue lotus)[4] was also liked, this drink has been termed as *puṣpāsava* in the *Mānasollāsa*.[5] All these drinks had a beautiful colour as also a sweet and agreeable smell.[6] These drinks must have been commonly used by the people. According to I-Tsing, it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.[7] Some of these drinks were allowed to the monks as well. Yuan Chwang informs us that "the Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas drink only syrup prepared with grapes and sugarcane."[8] Besides, *āyāma* or *avasāmaṇa* (scum of boiled rice)[9] and *kañjika*, also called *āranāla* in the regional language (a sour-gruel prepared from cereals)[10], were largely taken, especially by the monks.

1. NC. 2, p 253.
2. NC. 2, p. 123.
3. द्राक्षापानकादि पातुमिच्छा पिपासा—NC. 3, p. 223, also पानकदाने द्राक्षापान-कविधी—NC. 2, p. 102.
4. पाणग सहगार-पाडलानीलुप्पलादीहिं सजुत्त पिवह—NC. 3, p 319.
5. *Mānasollāsa*, III. 1621.
6. पुष्पं णाम अच्छ वण्णगधरसफासेहिं पधाणं—NC 2, p 123.
7. The eight *pāṇas* (drinks) allowed by Buddha were *moka*, *koka*, *kolaka*, *asvattha*, *ulpala* or *udumbara*, *parusaka*, *mṛdhvika* and *khargula* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 35 6.). I-Tsing, however, mentions *amba*, *jambu*, *koka*, *kolaka*, *moka*, *madhu*, *sīluka* and *pharusaka* (Takakusu, op. cit., p. 125).
8. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 178.
9. NC. 1, p. 74.
10. 'कंजियं' देसीभासाए आरनालं भण्णति—NC. 1, p. 74, कंजिगं पसिद्धं—NC. 2, p. 253.

Wines and other intoxicating liquors were extensively used. Strong liquors were termed as *majja* or *madya* and were easily available in the market.[1] The wine-shops or taverns were termed as *rasāvaṇa*, *majjāvaṇa*[2] or *pāṇabhūmi*. We are informed that "the flags (*jjhaya—dhvaja*) were hoisted over the wine-shops, particularly in the Mahārāṣṭra country, so that the monks could detect the wine-shop from a distance to enable them to refrain from accepting alms from there.[3] Yuan Chwang also observed that, "drinking-booths were distinguished by sign-boards."[4]

Wine (*majja*) was of two varieties: (i) *piṭṭhakaḍa* and (ii) *gulakada*.[5] The former was wine prepared with the powder of rice or barley-meal and has been called *paiṣṭī surā* by other authorities.[6] The latter was evidently a liquor prepared with the fermented juice of sugarcane.[7] Besides, *surā*[8], *sīdhu*[9], *madhu*[10] and *āsava*[11] were the other varieties of

1. NC 1, p 53
2. रसावणो नाम मज्जावणो—NC. 2, p. 136.
3. NC 2, p 136; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 985.
4. Watters, op. cit., I, p 147; Beal, op cit., I, p 74.
5. वियड मज्ज, तस्स दो भेदा—पिट्ठकड गुलकडं च—NC. 2, p. 238.
6. पैष्टीनां व्रीह्यादिधान्यक्षोदनिष्पन्नानां...सुराणां-*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 954; व्रीह्यादिसम्बन्धि पिष्टेन यद् विकटं भवति सा सुरा—Ibid., p. 953; *Manusmṛti*, 11. 94-95. In the *Sanmoha Vinodini* (p. 38) also *piṭṭhī surā* is mentioned as one of the five kinds of *surās*. For the process of making *paiṣṭī surā* see–R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol. X. I, p. 413.
7. गौडीनां गुडनिष्पन्नानां—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 954.
8. NC. 2, p. 456, NC. 3, p. 518. Surā was generally prepared with barley or rice-flour.—*Carakasaṁhitā*, 27. 188.
9. NC. 2, p. 456. *Sīdhu* was prepared with the juice of sugarcane and *dhātakī* flowers. Caraka mentions two varieties of *sīdhu*—one prepared from boiled juice and the other from unboiled juice (*Carakasaṁhitā*, 27. 182-83.)
10. NC. 2, p. 456. The juice of grapes was termed as *madhu*—*Arthaśāstra*, p. 133; also *LAI*., p. 126.
11. NC. 1, p. 53 *Āsava* was prepared with the extract of *kapittha* (Ferronia Elephantidin), inspissated juice of sugarcane and honey with some spices—*Arthaśāstra*, II; 25 19; *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, 45. 195;

liquors widely used by the people. Liquors were usually stored in jars (*surā-kuḍa*)[1] and the royal kitchen had a special store-house called *pāṇāgāra* where various types of intoxicating drinks and other beverages were stored.[2]

In spite of the great variety of liquors, the Jaina monks, as we know, were not allowed to take wine.[3] The author, however, allows the monks to accept wine during serious illness (*āgāḍha-gelaṇṇa*).[4] They could either get it from the market or ask the lay-devotees for the same by giving specific reasons.[5] Being a pious Jaina, the attitude of our author towards wine-drinking can be easily comprehended. The author describing the sixteen great evils considers addiction to wine as one of the worst evils which deprive a person of his three-fold aim of life, i.e. Dharma, Artha and Kāma and consequently of Mokṣa as well.[6]

Betel-eating—People were quite accustomed to betel-eating.[7] Betel-leaves along with the various ingredients were regarded as luxurious or relishable articles (*sāima*).[8] Betel-leaves were usually taken with five spices like *jāiphala* (nutmeg), *kokkola* (cinnamon), *kappūra* (camphor), *lavamga* (cloves) and *pūgaphala* (arecanut).[9] Sometimes *saṁkha-cuṇṇa* and *khaira* (Acacia Catechu) were also used in preparing betel.[10] Caraka as well as Suśruta mentions that betel-leaf was to be chewn along with spices like cloves, camphor, nutmeg, *kokkola*, *Lāṭa-kastūrī* and similar other objects of flavour.[11] Innumerable

1. NC. 3, p. 518.
2. NC. 2, p. 456.
3. NC 1, p. 141; NC. 2, p. 124, NC. 3, p. 135.
4. मधु-मज्ज-मंसा गरहियविगतीणं गहणं आगाढे गिलाणकज्जं "गरहालाभपमाणे" त्ति गरहंतो गेण्हति—NC. 3, p. 136.
5. जियहं मज्जं, तं सड्ढकुलाओ आवणाओ वा गेण्हइ—NC. 1, p. 58.
6. NC. 1, p. 53; also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p. 1824
7. पुव्वभावितो कोपि पक्कं तंबूलपत्तादि मुहे पक्खिवेज्जा—NC. 1, p. 164.
8. NC. 3, pp. 287, 519.
9. NC. 3, p. 319
10. Ibid.
11. *Carakasaṁhitā*, 75.76; *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, V. 42, p. 483 (ed. by K. Bhisagratna).

references to the practice of betel-chewing can be found in the contemporary literature[1] which reveal that betel-eating had by then become a common practice amongst the people.

Food-habits and Customs—Some idea regarding the food-habits and customs of the people can also be had from the text. Moderation in food was always enjoined, and over-eating was never appreciated. Thirty-two morsels of food were supposed to be sufficient to keep a person alive.[2] An ideal monk was expected to take only this much of food as his diet.

Different food-customs were observed in different regions. In the Kośala country the place of dining (*āhāra-bhūmi*) was besmeared with cow-dung; lotus-leaves and flowers were strewn over the ground, the earthen-pots were properly arranged and only then the people had their meals.[3] I-Tsing also found the same practice being observed by the people of his time as he wrote: "Ground, before taking food, is strewn with cow-dung, and fresh leaves are scattered over it."[4] In the Koṅkana country rice-gruel (*peya*) was offered first at meals, while in Northern India parched barley-meal (*saktu*) was offered first and other articles of food were served later.[5] The monks from the Koṅkaṇa country could easily withstand the dry and coarse food (*āyaṁbila*), but the monks from Sindhu were accustomed to rich and spicy food (*vaṁjaṇamīsa*). They were even allowed to take the same.[6] In certain regions, as in Northern India, people were habituated to night-food.[7] In these regions the Jaina monks had to be allowed to take food

1. In the *Harṣacarita* (p 85) of Bāna Sudṛṣṭi is mentioned as having pa red with betel leaves; In the *Kādambarī* (para 15), Śūdraka is shown as गृहीततताम्बूलः ।
2. NC 1, p. 144.
3. जहा कोसलविसए आहारभूमी हरितोवलित्ता कज्जति—NC. 1, p. 51.
4. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 25.
5. भुज्जते य जं पुब्वं जहा कोंकणे पेया, उत्तरावहे सत्तुया—NC. 1, p. 52.
6. NC. 1, p. 145.
7. जत्थ अणवत्तो राओ भुंजति, जहा उत्तरावहे—NC. 1, p. 154.

at night. It seems that taking food at night was not a regular practice in certain regions where people abstained from night-food. In certain parts of the country milk and milk-products were found in abundance. Even the Jaina monks, who were usually directed to abstain from taking rich diet, were allowed to take the same in those regions.[1] It is evident that due to the social as well as climatic conditions the food-customs of different regions also widely differed. In such differing circumstances the Jaina monks were directed to observe regional or local customs for being successful in their aim, i.e. "to preach their religion without suffering the pangs of hunger."[2]

Dress

The NC provides us ample information regarding the nature of costume and textile material of the time. Elaborating the various rules that were to be observed by the Jaina monks and nuns with regard to their clothing, the author gives a vivid description of the clothes and costumes worn by men and women in society and also relates various processes involving weaving, washing, stitching, dyeing etc.

The clothes were variously known as *vattha*[3], *parihāṇa*[4], *vāsa*[5], *cīra*[6], *cela*, *cīvara* or *nevattha*[7], and were divided into three categories: (i) cotton clothes (*kappāsiya*), (ii) silken clothes (*kosejjaka*) and (iii) woollen clothes (*uṇṇiya*)[8] The cotton cloth was manufactured from the hair of one-sensed beings (*egeṁdiya-niṣpanna*), the silken cloth from two to four-sensed beings (*vigaleṁdiya-niṣpanna*) and the woollen cloth was

1. कम्हि य देसे गामे वा सो चेव दहिखीराति आहारो हवेज्ज, तत्थ विणा कारणेण आहारेज्ज—NC. 2, p. 243.
2. LAI., p 128
3. वासयती ति वत्थ—NC. 2, p. 59, NC, 3, p. 560.
4. NC 1, p 52.
5. NC. 3, p 142.
6. NC. 2, p. 322.
7. NC. 1, p. 52.
8. NC. 3, p 566.

made from five-sensed beings (*pañcemdiya-nispanna*).[1] These different varieties of clothes may be grouped under two heads: (i) the common clothes and (ii) the costly clothes. The Jaina monks were allowed to wear only the common clothes, while all varieties were worn by the people in society.

Common Clothes—The Jaina monks were allowed to wear five varieties of coarse clothes which were comparatively cheap. These were: (i) *jamgiya*, (ii) *bhamgiya*, (iii) *sāṇiya*, (iv) *pottaga* and (v) *tirīdapatta*.[2]

(i) *Jamgiya*—*Jamgiya* is explained as cloth manufactured from the body or hair of the moving beings (*jamgama-satta*, *tasa-jīva*)[3] Five varieties of the *jamgiya* cloth have been mentioned in the text. These were: *uṇṇiya*, *uṭṭiya*, *miyalomiya*, *kutava* and *kitta*.[4] *Uṇṇiya* was the cloth manufactured from the sheep's wool[5], while *uttiya* was from the camel's hair.[6] *Miyalomiya* was the cloth made from deer's hair.[7] *Kutava* and *kitta* are also mentioned as two types of hair (*romavisesa*) which were common in certain regions but were not available in the region to which the author belonged.[8] *Kutava* has been explained as *varakka*, while *kitta* or *kittima* is mentioned as "cloth manufactured from the residue of the same material."[9] Perhaps the author means to say that the best part of the hair (*varakka*) was used for making the *kutava* cloth and that the *kitta* was manufactured from the remaining inferior portion of

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1. NC 3, p. 566, also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 1, p 174.
2. NC. 2, pp. 56-57, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, pp. 1017-18, *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5 1. 364, 368.
3. जगमसत्ताग अवयवेहिंतो णिप्फण्णा जगविही—NC. 2, p. 57, also p. 39; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p 1017.
4. NC. 2, p. 57
5. "उण्ण" त्ति लाडाण गड्डुरा भण्णंति, तस्स रोमा कच्चणिज्जा कप्पासो भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 223
6. उट्टरोमेसु उट्टियं—NC 2, p. 57.
7. मियाण लोमेसु मियलोमियं—NC 2, p 57.
8. कुतकिट्टा वि रोमविसेसा चेव देसंतरे, इह अप्पसिद्धा—NC. 2, p. 57.
9. अण्णे भणंति—कुतवो वरक्को तो किट्टिसं एतेसि चेव अवघाडो—NC. 2, p. 57; also NC. 2, p. 400.

the same. The commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* explains *kutava* as *jīṇa* and *kiṭṭa* as cloth manufactured from the residue of the hair or wool after the best part of it had been utilized for making better grades of cloth.[1] According to a *Cūrṇi* quoted by the editor of the *Bṛhatkalpa*, *kutava* as well as *kiṭṭa* was the cloth manufactured from different parts of the goat's hair.[2]

Besides, following the definition that "*jaṁgiya* was the cloth manufactured from the hair of the movable beings", the *aṇḍaga* and *kīḍaga* varieties of cloth have also been included in this group.[3] *Aṇḍaga* was the cloth manufactured from the swan's egg *(haṁsa-gabbha)*.[4] According to Motichandra, it perhaps refers to the cloth *haṁsa-dukūla*[5] which has been so widely referred to in the classical Sanskrit texts. *Kīḍaga* was evidently the cloth manufactured from the insects and it included the varieties of silken cloth like the *paṭṭa* and *kosigāra*.[6] The monks, however, were to take the *paṭṭa* or *kosigāra* cloth only when the cotton or hemp-cloth was not available.

(ii) *Bhaṁgiya—Bhaṁgiya* was the cloth manufactured from the fibres of the linseed plant.[7] It must have been a cloth manufactured from the *bhāga* tree which is still produced in Kumon district in U.P. and is known as *bhagelā*.[8]

1. *Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p. 1018; Motichandra, 'History of Indian Costumes from the 3rd Century A. D. to the end of the 7th Century A. D', JISOA., Vol XII, p. 28.
2. *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018; also Motichandra, op. cit., p. 28
3. जंगिओ अइगादी—NC. 2 p. 39.
4. NC. 2, p. 38, also commentary on *Anuyogadvāra*, sū. 37.
5. Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhāratīya Veṣabhūṣā*, p. 145.
6. NC. 2, p. 38. In the *Anuyogadvāra*, *Sū*. 38, the *malaya*, *aṁsuka*, *cināṁsuka* and *kimirāga* are mentioned as four varieties of *kīḍaga* cloth.
7. अतसमादि भंगियविद्दी—NC. 2, p 57, also NC. 2, p. 37. According to the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, *bhaṅgika* was either manufactured from linseed plant or from the inner portion of *harita-vaṁsa* —*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018.
8. See—Motichandra's article on Dress in *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 40, also LAI., p. 128.

(iii) *Sāṇiya—Sāṇiya* was hemp cloth prepared from the fibres of hemp.[1] Yuan Chwang also refers to *sāṇaka* as a dark red cloth made from the fibres of the *saṇaka* plant (a kind of hemp cannabis sativa or croloraria juncea) used by the *bhikkhus*.[2]

(iv) *Pottaga—Potta* or *pottaga* was cotton cloth made from the fibres of the cotton flower.[3] According to the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, *pottaga* was the cotton cloth.[4] The *Ācārāṅga-vṛtti* explains it as cloth made from the palm-leaves.[5]

(v) *Tirīḍapaṭṭa—Tirīḍapaṭṭa* or *paṭṭa* was cloth manufactured from the bark of the *tirīḍa* tree (Symplocos Racemosa).[6] The earlier list of textiles mentioned in the *Ācārāṅga*, however, allows the monks to wear the *tūlakada* cloth in place of the *tirīḍapaṭṭa*.[7]

These five varieties of cloth were allowed to the Jaina monks for their clothing. The monks, however, were advised to prefer the cotton-cloth, although the other types of cloth could be taken as its alternatives when the cotton cloth was not available.

Costly Clothes—Besides these, a large variety of expensive clothes having fine finish with gold embroidery or inlaid with golden thread were the prised possession of the people. Leather skins were also used to devise garments. The Jaina monks, however, were barred from using such costly variety of cloth.[8] The varieties of expensive clothes mentioned in the N.C. are as follows :

1. NC. 2, p 57, also pp 39, 223, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018.
2. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 120.
3. NC. 2, p. 57; see also—NC. 2, pp. 38, 39, 223.
4. पोतकं कर्पासिकम्—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018.
5. II. 5. 1. 364, 368.
6. NC. 2, p. 399; also *Bṛh. Vṛ*. pp. 1018-19.
7. See—*Ācārāṅga*, II, 5. 1. 364, 368.
8. NC. 2, pp. 398-99.

(i) *Āiṇa*—*Āiṇa* was a cloth made from the deer-skin (*ajina*).[1]

(ii&iii) *Sahiṇa and Sahiṇakallāṇa*—*Sahiṇa* was a type of very thin or fine (*sūkṣma*)[2] cloth, while the *sahiṇakallāṇa* was fine as well as soft (*snigdha*).[3]

(iv) *Āya*—*Āya* is explained as cloth prepared from the moss (*sevāla*) that clung to the goat's hoof in *sīyatalāya* (*sīta-taḍāga-ṛṣitaḍāga*) in the country of Tosali.[4] This definition of the *āya* cloth given in the NC. is almost unintelligible and shows that the author himself was not quite clear regarding the origin of this cloth. In the other Jaina texts, however, *āya* is explained as cloth made from the goat's hair.[5]

(v) *Kāya*—*Kāya* is explained as cloth made in the Kāya country (Eastern Malwa) by dyeing the cloth in a pond in which the seeds of *kākajaṅghā* (Abrus Procatorius—Hindi *guñjā*) have fallen[6], or the cloth dyed in the liquid or solution (*druti*) of *kāya* (a medicinal plant, perhaps known as *cakasenī* in Hindi).[7] Both these definitions are not clear and do not reveal the nature of this cloth. The commentary on the *Ācārāṅga*, however, explains *kāya* as cloth manufactured from blue-cotton.[8]

(vi) *Khomma*—*Khomma* has been mentioned as a type of cotton cloth[9], but it is also stated that in view of others it was a cloth made from the bark of the banyan tree.[10] If the

1. अजिण चम्म, तम्मि जे कीरति ते आईणाणि—NC 2, p 399; also *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 3.
2. सहिण सूक्ष्मं—NC. 2, p 399
3. कल्लाणं स्निग्धं, लक्षणयुक्तं वा, किं चि सहिणं कल्लाणं च—Ibid
4. आय णाम तोसलिविसए सीयतलाए अयाणं खुरेसु सेवालतरिया लग्गति, तत्थ वत्था कीरति—NC. 2, p. 399.
5. *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 3.
6. कायाणि कयविसए काकजंघस्स जहिं मणी पडितो तलागे तत्थ रत्ताणि जाणि ताणि कायाणि भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 399
7. दुते वा काये रत्ताणि कायाणि—Ibid.
8. *Ācārāṅga*, II 5. 1. 3.
9. पोंडमया खोम्मा—NC. 2, p. 399.
10. अण्णे भणंति—रुक्खेहिंतो निग्गच्छंति, जहा "वडेहिंतो पादगा साहा"—Ibid.

former definition is accepted, it is not clear as to what difference there was between the *khomma* and the *pottaga* which has also been explained as cotton cloth. The latter definition of *khomma* appears to be more reliable, and the other Jaina texts also mention it as linen cloth.[1] According to the *Amarakośa*, *kṣauma* was a synonym of *dukūla*.[2] Yuan Chwang also mentions Calico—Chiu (or Chu)-ma (*kṣauma*) as a kind of linen.[3]

(vii) *Dugulla*—*Dugulla* was a cloth manufactured from the bark of the *dugulla* tree.[4] The bark of the *dugulla* tree was pounded in a mortar by adding water and the cloth was made out of its fibres.[5] Bāna also frequently refers to *dukūla*-cloth[6] which has been explained by scholars as bark-silk.[7] The commentator of the *Ācārāṅga*, however, explains *dugulla* as cloth made from cotton grown in the Gauḍa country.[8]

(viii) *Tirīdapatta* (see—common-clothes).

(ix) *Mayala*—*Mayala* or *malaya* cloth was manufactured in the Malaya country from the saliva of the insects which fell upon the leaves of the *malaya*-plants.[9] Apparently, it was a cloth manufactured from the *malaya* fibres in the country of Malaya.[10]

(x) *Paṭṭuṇṇa*—*Paṭṭuṇṇa* is also mentioned as a cloth made from the bark-fibres.[11]

1. *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 1.
2. *Amarakośa*, II. 6. 112.
3. Watters, op. cit, 1, p. 148.
4. दुगुल्लो रुक्खो तस्स वागो घेत्तुं उदूखले कुट्टिज्जति—NC. 2, p. 399.
5. पाणिएण ताव जाव झूसीभूतो ताहे कज्जति एतेसु दुगुल्लो—Ibid.
6. *Harṣacarita*, p. 125, text p. 143.
7. Saletore, R.N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 404.
8. *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5 1. 3.
9. किरीडयलाला मयलविसए मयलाणि पत्ताणि कोविज्जति—NC. 2, p. 399.
10. मलयोनाम देशः तत्सम्भव मलयजम्—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018.
11. तेसु वालएसु पत्तुण्णा—NC. 2, p. 399.

(xi) *Aṁsuya—Aṁsuya* cloth was manufactured from the inner bark of the *dugulla* tree.[1] *Aṁsuya* thus must have been a finer variety of cloth than *dugulla.* The commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* also explains it as a fine, soft and shining cloth.[2]

(xii) *Ciṇaṁsuya—Ciṇaṁsuya* was yet a finer variety of cloth than *aṁsuya.*[3] It has been explained as silk imported from the China country also.[4] The commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* explains it as silk manufactured from the *kośika* or *kośikāra* insects or as soft cloth made in China.[5] Bāṇa also refers to the clothes "white and delicate as China-silk."[6]

(xiii) *Desarāga—Desarāga* was the coloured cloth dyed in the regional process of dyeing.[7]

1. दुगुल्लातो अब्भतरहिते जं उप्पज्जति तं असुय—NC 2, p. 399
   Explaining the *aṁsuya* cloth Motichandra remarks in his *Prācina Bhāratiya Veśabhūṣā* (p 148) that "we find a very wide explanation of the *aṁsuya* cloth in the *Niśitha*, viz असुयाणि, कणग-कताणि, कणगखसियाणि, कणगचित्ताणि, कणगविचित्ताणि—meaning thereby that the "*aṁsuya* was a cloth interwoven with golden threads and various designs were made on it. *Aṁsuya* thus has been a cloth like brocade (*kimakhāba* or *pāta* in Hindi)". This explanation is evidently based on an incorrect reading. The words like *kaṇagakaṁtāṇi* are not used as adjectives of *aṁsuya*, but as Motichandra has himself shown later in his text, were independent varieties of cloth interwoven with golden threads
2. *Bṛh. Vṛ* 4, p. 1018.
3. सुहमतरं चीणंसुय भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 399
4. Ibid.
5. चीनांशुको नाम सोशिकाराख्यः कृमिः तस्माद् जातं चीनाशुकम्, यद्वा चीना नाम जनपदः तत्र यः श्लक्ष्णतरः पट्टस्तस्माद् जातं चीनाशुकम्—*Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p. 1018.
6. *Harṣacarita*, p 28.
7. जत्थ विसए जा रगविधी ताए, देसे रत्ता देसरागा—NC. 2, p. 399.
   Here the word *jattha visaya* meaning "in which region" or "in which particular country" has been rendered by Motichandra as "the country of Jāṭas", on the basis of which he has conjectured that "it might be taken to indicate towards a particular process of dyeing which must have been in vogue in eastern Punjab and western part of Central Province" (*Prācina Bhāratiya Veṣabhūṣā*, p. 149). The inference evidently is a far-fetched one and it would be more accu-

(xiv) *Amilā—Amilā* is explained as a cloth manufactured from hair *(roma)*[1] or as a cloth spotlessly clean *(ṇimmala)*, properly starched and calendered on a rubbing implement *(ghaṭṭiṇī-ghaṭita)*.[2] Elsewhere in the NC. *amlāta* is mentioned as fine cloth which did not absorbe dirt very easily.[3] This must have been a polished cloth having a fine finish.

(xv) *Gajjalā—Gajjalā* was a variety of cloth which made rustling noise like a thunderbolt.[4] It must have been a heavily starched cloth.

(xvi) *Phādiya—Phādiya* was a cloth fine and transparent like crystal.[5]

(xvii) *Kaṁbala*—The word *kaṁbala* denoted all types of expensive woollen clothes, i. e. the blankets as well as the woollen upper garments.[6] A story in the NC. depicts how a Jaina monk was troubled by thieves for a fine *kaṁbala*-cloth *(kaṁbala-rayaṇa)* that was given by a king. Yuan Chwang also refers to 'Han' or (Kan) po-lo (*kaṁbala*) as a texture of fine wool.[7]

(xviii) *Pāvāraga—Pāvāragas* were the mantles or the housings of the elephants *(kharaḍaga*—painted cloth to cover the elephant's back).[8]

(xix) *Kaṇaga—Kaṇaga* cloth was made from yarns (*sutta*) dyed in a solution *(druti)* of gold.[9]

rate to translate *desarāga* as clothes dyed in the regional process of dyeing. In the *Ācārāṅga* (II. 5. 1. 31) also they are mentioned only as coloured clothes.

1. रोमेसु कया अमिला—NC. 2, p. 399; *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 3-8.
2. अहवा–णिम्मला अमिला घट्टिणी घटिता ते परिभुज्जमाणा कडं कहेंति—NC. 2, p 400.
3. यानि न म्लायन्ते शीघ्रं तानि अम्लातानि वस्त्राणि—Ibid., p. 109.
4. गज्जितसमाणं सद्दं करेंति ते गज्जला—NC. 2, p. 400, *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 3-8.
5. फडिगपाहाणनिभा फाडिगा अच्छा इत्यर्थः—Ibid.
6. उवारसा कंबला—NC 2, p. 400.
7. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 148.
8. खरडगपारिगादि पावारगा—NC. 2, p. 400
9. सुवण्णे दुते सुत्तं रज्जति, तेण जं वुतं तं कणगं—Ibid.

Motichandra's explanation of *kaṇaga* cloth is based on a different

(xx) *Kaṇagayaka—Kaṇagayaka* was a cloth having its border woven with golden thread.[1]

(xxi) *Kaṇagapaṭṭa*—Two definitions of this cloth are found in the text. According to one, it was a cloth interwoven with golden threads[2], while according to the other, it was a cloth made from the hair of a particular species of deer called *Kaṇagapaṭṭa*.[3]

(xxii) *Kaṇagakhaciya—Kaṇagakhaciya* was a cloth embroidered with golden threads.[4] It must have been a cloth like brocade.

(xxiii) *Kaṇagaphulliya—Kaṇagaphulliya* is explained as a cloth on which the designs were made with gold by applying a type of wax or such other adhesive substance *(kaddama)*.[5] This process has been rendered by Jaina as the art of 'tinsel

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reading of the NC. It reads : वरडगपारिगादि पावारगा ते सुवण्णे, सुवण्णे दुते सुत्त रज्जति तेग जं वुत त कणगम् । On the basis of this he has stated that "two definitions of the *ka..aga* cloth are to be found in the NC. According to one, "it was a cloth made from the bark of the banyan tree" and secondly as "clothes dyed in golden solution" (Motichandra, op. cit., p. 149). But in the present edition of the NC. we have a different reading, viz खरडगपारिगादि पावारगा, सुवण्णे दुते सुत्त रज्जति, तेण ज वुतं तं कणगं. Evidently, the previous one is a definition of the *pāvāraga* cloth and the latter, i e. "cloth made from yarn dyed in golden solution", is the only definition of *ka aga* cloth in the NC In the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, however, it is explained as cloth made from the golden coloured yarns of certain insects (*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1018).

1. अता जस्स कणगेण कता त कणगयक—NC. 2, p. 400.
2. कणगेण जस्स पट्टा कता त कणगपट्ट —*Ācarānga*, II. 5. 1. 3-8.
3. अहवा–कणगपट्टा मिगा—NC 2, p. 400.
4. कणगसुत्तेण फुल्लिया जस्स पाडिया त कणगखचि तं—Ibid; *Ācārānga*, II. 5.1.3-8.
5. कणगेण जस्स फुल्लिताउ दिण्णाउ त कणगफुल्लियं । जहा कद्दमेण उड्डेडिज्जति—NC. 2, p. 400.

printing.'[1] According to Motichandra also it was a particular art of printing with wax.[2]

(xxiv) *Ābharaṇa—Ābharaṇa* was a printed cloth having a single pattern like the pattern of six leaves etc. (*chapatrikādi*).[3]

(xxv) *Ābharaṇa-vicitta*—It was a printed cloth having different designs like that of the leaves (*patrikā*), a digit of moon (*candralekhā*), fylot (*svastika*), bell (*ghaṇtikā*), pearl (*mottika*) etc.[4]

(xxvi-xxvii) *Veggha and Vivaggha—Veggha*[5] and *Vivaggha*[6] were the clothes made from tiger and panther's skin.

(xxviii) *Uttha*-Two explanations of the *uṭṭha* cloth have been given in the text. According to one, it was a cloth made from the skin of an aquatic animal having the appearance of a dog (*suṇagāgiti*) and known as *uttha*.[7] According to the other, it was made from the skin of the yellow-deer (*gora-miga*).[8] It can be judged that it was a type of skin-cloth. According to the commentary on the *Ācārāṅga* also, it was made from the skin of an aquatic cat (*udabilāva* in Hindi) found in the country of Sindhu.[9]

(xxix) *Pesā—Pesā* in explained as cloth made from the skin of the *pesā* animal or from the skin of fish (*maccha*).[10] The

1. LAI., p. 129 "In tinsel printing an adhesive substance is printed over the texture and subsequently dusted with colouring matter and the designs are printed with blocks.''—Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 267.
2. Motichandra, op. cit., pp. 152-53.
3. एस्थ छपत्रिकादि एकाभरणेन मंडिता—NC. 2, p. 400
4. आभरणत्थपत्रिकं चंदलेहिक-स्वस्तिक-घंटिक-मोत्तिकमादीहिं म डिता आभरण-विचित्ता—Ibid.
5. वग्घस्स चम्मं वग्घाणि—NC. 2, p. 400
6. चित्तग-चम्मं विवग्घाणि—Ibid.
7. सुणगागिती जलचरा सत्ता तेसिं अजिणा उट्ठा—Ibid
8. अण्णे भण्णंति—उड्ढं चम्मं गोरमिगाणं अइणा गोरमिगादिणा—Ibid.
9. *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1. 3-8. *Udrā* is mentioned in the *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* according to which it was a water-cat (*Vedic Index*, 1, p. 89; also LAI., p 123).
10. पेसा पसवा तेसिं अइणं। अण्णे भणंति—पेसा लेसा य मच्छादियाण—NC. 2, p. 400

commentary on the *Ācārāṅga* also explains it as a fine leather of an animal of Sindhu.[1]

Besides, another cloth casually mentioned in the text is *rallaga* which was used as a wrapper (*pāuraṇa*).[2] It has been explained as *kambala* in the *Amarakośa*.[3] Yuan Chwang also refers to a cloth po-lo-li which has been rendered as *rāla*, an equivalent of Sanskrit *rallaka*. It was made from the wool of a wild animal. This wool being fine and soft could be easily spun and woven. It was a prized material for clothing.[4] Another cloth mentioned in the text is *vādaya* which was also called *tasara* in the regional language. It was same as *kosejja* or the silk-cloth.[5] I-Tsing informs us that *kauśeya* is the name of silk-worms, and the silk which is reared from them is also called by the same name. It was a very valuable thing.[6]

Cost of Clothes—The clothes were divided into three categories on the basis of their prices. The clothes costing upto eighteen *rūvagas* were of the cheapest variety (*jahaṇṇa*), while those costing above a million *rūvagas* were the costliest (*ukkosa*).[7] The clothes costing between these two grades belonged to the medium category (*majjhima*).[8] In the context of the various punishments that were imposed upon the monks for wearing costly clothes, the clothes costing about 18, 20, 50, 100, 1000, 5000 and 10,000 *rūvagas* have been mentioned.[9]

1 *Ācārāṅga*, II. 5. 1 3-8. In the Vedic texts *peśā* is mentioned as a gold-embroidered cloth with artistic and intricate designs (*Vedic Index*, II, p 22).
2. पाउरणं रल्लगादि—NC. 3, p. 102.
3. *Amarakośa*, 2 6. 116.
4. Watters, op cit., 1, p 148.
5. कोसेज्जा वडओ भण्णति—(टसर इति भाषायाम्)—NC. 2, p. 68.
6. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 60.
7. NC. 2, p. 95.
8. Ibid.
9. NC. 2, p. 96.

This cost is given according to the *rūvaga* of Pāṭaliputra[1], but it has not been made clear as to how much cloth could be bought for this price.

Clothes for Different Occasions—Due consideration was given to the fact that the dress worn by an individual was befitting the occasion. Four types of garments are mentioned in the NC. : (i) *niyaṁsaṇa*, (ii) *majjaṇīya*, (iii) *chaṇūsaviya* and (iv) *rājaddāriya*.[2] *Niyaṁsaṇas* were the garments that were worn daily at home during day or night.[3] The lower as well as upper garment of daily wear was included in this group.[4] The *majjaṇīya* garments were worn at the time or after taking bath and visiting the temple.[5] Prabhāvatī, the queen of king Udāyana, is mentioned to have gone to the temple to propitiate the deity in pure white clothes (*suddha-vāsa, sukilla-vāsa)* after taking her bath.[6] People clad in different types of fine and beautiful attires *(vividhaveṣa)* proceeded to attend the garden parties[7] or functions; such garments were known as *chaṇūsaviya*, i.e. to be worn at the time of feasts and festivals.[8] Lastly, *rājaddāriya* were the garments that were worn while visiting the king or nobles.[9]

Seasonal Clothes—Proper clothes were selected in order to suit the season. The *kāṣāya* clothes dyed in red-colour *(kāṣāya)* were appreciated in summer, wrappers *(pāvāra)* were worn in winter, while the clothes dyed with saffron (*kuṁkuma*) were supposed to be fit for the rainy season.[10] Clothes dyed

1. NC. 2, p. 95.
2. NC. 3, p. 566, also p. 578; *Bṛh. Bhā.*, p 644.
3. णियंसण ज दिया रातो य परिहिज्जेइ—NC. 3, p. 466.
4. "णियंसणं" सो य साडगो……पाउरणं पि दट्ठव्वं—NC. 3, p. 566
5. "मज्जिउ" त्ति ण्हातो जं परिहेति देवघरपवेसं वा करेंतो तं मज्जणीयं—NC. 3, p. 566.
6. सुक्किल्ल-वास-परिहाण—NC. 3, p. 142; देवगिहपवेसा सुद्धवासा—NC. 3, p. 143.
7. NC. 4, pp. 24, 40.
8. छणो चेव ऊसवो छण्णूसवो, तम्मि जं परिहिज्जति तं छणूसवियं—NC. 3, p. 566.
9. रायकुलं पविसंतो जं परिहेति तं रायदारियं—Ibid.
10. गिम्हे जहा कासाइ, सिसिरे पावाराति, वासासु कुंकुमादि खचितं—NC. 2, p. 94; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1068; cf. Kālidāsa, *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, VI. 4.

in red-colour during the summer were thought to be unfit for wearing during the winter.[1] Perhaps they might have been dyed again in every season.

Coloured Clothes—White as well as coloured clothes were worn. Five colours for clothes were held in esteem (*varṇāḍhya*): (i) black like the neck of a peacock, (ii) blue like the tail of a parrot, (iii) red like the colour of an Indragopa (an insect of scarlet colour), (iv) golden-yellow and (v) white like the conch-shell or moon.[2] Red-clothes dyed in the colour of safflower (*kusumbharāga*) were thought to be proper for the bride to enter her marriage chamber (*vāsagṛha*)[3], white, on the other hand, was appreciated during the religious ceremonies, i.e. at the time of worship or visiting the temple.[4] Yuan Chwang also noted that people wore clothes of different colours, but white was held in esteem.[5]

Centres of Cloth Manufacture—The clothes must have been produced in almost every region, yet, some of the places were especially famous as centres of cloth-manufacture. Such regions were usually known as *bahu-vattha-desa*[6], i.e. countries rich in cloth. Mahissara is mentioned as one such place and the monks in this city were allowed to wear better types of clothes.[7] Mahissara is obviously same as Mahisā or Mahismatī which has been mentioned by Kauṭilya as one of the most famous centres for the manufacture of cotton-cloth, the others being Madhurā (southern), Aparānta (western parts) of Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Vaṅga and Vatsa.[8] Sindhu and Mālavā also must have been famous for their clothes. People in these

1. कासाएण रत्त कासायं···गिम्हे कयं जं हेमते अजोग्ग परिभोगस्सेति—NC 3, p. 569.
2. NC. 2, p. 94.
3. NC. 3, p. 143.
4. NC. 3, p. 142.
5. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 148, Beal, op. cit., 1, p. 75.
6. NC 3, pp. 568-69.
7. बहुवत्थदेसे जहा महिस्सरे अण्णं चोक्खतरयं परिहेंति—NC. 3, p. 569.
8. माधुरमापरान्तकं कालिङ्गकं काशिकं वाङ्गकं वात्सकं माहिषकं च कार्पासिकं श्रेष्ठमिति —*Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. XI, p 83.

regions usually wore fine garments *(ujjalovadhi)* and even the monks were advised to wear better clothes as a person clad in filthy garments *(kucela)* could not even get alms in these regions.[1]

Poṇḍravardhana was another famous centre where the fine as well as the coarse varieties of cloth *(saṇha* and *sthūla)* were easily available.[2] Kauṭilya refers to two varieties of the *pauṇḍraka* cloth, one that was black and as soft as the surface of the gem and the other the *kṣauma*[3] which was a variety of coarse cloth.[4] Bāṇa also considered pale silken Pauṇḍra cloth as decorous and respectable.[5] Clothes were also imported from one region to the other. Clothes manufactured in eastern India were rare (*dullabha*) in the Lāṭa country and were highly prized *(arghita)*.[6] It is interesting to note that most of these places mentioned in the NC. have been famous centres of cloth-manufacture in India from ancient times.

Spinning and Weaving—Some idea regarding the other subsidiary processes like spinning, weaving, dyeing or washing can also be had from the text. The unrefined or uncarded cotton, i.e. *seduga,* was carded and the seeds were removed out of it *(piñjita)*. From this clear-cotton *(rūya* or *rūi)* spools *(pelū)* were prepared for spinning the yarn *(kaccaṇijja-sutta)* from which the cloth was made.[7] Same process must have been resorted to in case of the silken as well as woollen clothes.

1. दुभिक्खे वा कुचेलस्स ण लब्भति त्ति सिंधुमालवगादिसु तत्थुज्जलोवधिधरणं करेज्ज—NC. 3, p. 594, also p 566
2. देसिल्लगं जहा पोंड्रवर्धनक—NC 4, p 144
3. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, Ch XI, pp 81-82.
4. Vide—Saletore, op. cit., p. 395.
5. *Harṣacarita*, p. 72, text p. 85.
6. NC. 2, p. 94, पूर्वदेशज वस्त्र लाटविषये प्राप्य महार्घ्यम्—*Bṛh Vṛ*. 4, p. 1068.
7. NC. 2, p. 224, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 843. For detailed information regarding weaving see—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 1, p. 186.

Washing and Dyeing—Rajaga, vatthasohaga[1] and *ṇillevaga*[2] were the traditional classes of the washermen who were adept in the art of washing *(dhovaṇa)*. The washermen can be seen washing the clothes with pitchers full of water *(jalakuḍa)*[3] on the banks of rivers and ponds. The clothes must have been usually cleaned with the soap-nut *(kataka-phala)*[4], although a solution of soda, called *khārajoga*, was also applied to clean the dirty clothes *(ati-paṁka)*.[5] According to the *Ṇāyādhammakahā*, the clothes were first put into a solution of soda *(vat-thaṁ sajjiyakhāreṇāṇulimpai)*, then boiled and finally washed.[6] For the purpose of giving a fine finish, the clothes were calendered after washing, starched and also perfumed.[7]

The clothes were dyed in different colours.[8] *Desarāga*, as mentioned before, was a fine variety of cloth dyed in the regional process of dyeing.[9] Various colours like the *harid-dārāga* (colour of tumeric), *kusuṁbharāga* (safflower), *kaddam-arāga* (mud) and *kimirāga* (a red dye or lac produced by certain insects) were used for dyeing.[10] Vātsyāyana also informs us that blue, orange (colour of *kusuṁbha* flower) and yellow dye of tumeric were generally used by the people for dyeing purposes.[11] Among these different colours, *kimirāga*[12] was

1. NC. 3, p. 270.
2. NC. 4, p. 357.
3. Ibid.
4. कतक-फलं, जम्हा तेण कलुसुदए पाक्खित्तेण मलो णिमीयति—NC. 1, p 34, also p. 33.
5. जहा अतिपंकावण्णयणपयुत्तो खारजोगो सेसमलं पि सोहेति—NC. 4, p. 341.
6 *Ṇāyādhammakahā*, II. 60; vide—Motichandra's article on Dress in JISOA, XII, p. 10.
7. *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1094.
8. NC. 2, p. 327.
9. NC. 2, p. 399.
10. NC. 3, p. 149.
11. *Kāmasūtra*, p. 259 (Sū 12).
12. The dye called *kṛmirāga* (*kṛmadana*) was imported from Persia. The Jaina texts contain absurd stories about the preparation of this dye (see—A. N. Upadhye's *Introduction to Bṛhatkathā Kośa*, p. 88),

quite lasting, while the *kusumbha* (safflower) colour could easily fade after washing.[1] A more simple and cheap method of dyeing was to dye with the red-mud *(kāsāya)*[2] which was usually resorted to by the ascetics of the different sects.

Stitching of the Clothes—Although the unsewn garments like the *sādaga* and *pāuraṇa*[3] were worn by the people, yet the stitched garments like the *kañcuka*[4], shorts and tunics[5], which required a proper stitching, were also used. There was a special class of tailors or darners known as *tuṇṇaga*[6] who were adept in the art of sewing *(sivvaṇa)* and darning *(tuṇṇaṇa)*.[7]

Various technical terms related to cutting and sewing are to be found in the text. The measurement *(pramāṇa)* for measuring the cloth was one's own fore-arm *(svahasta)*[8] and the breadth and the length of the cloth were called *vistāra* and *āyāma*.[9] The borders of the cloth were known as *paṭṭa* or *dasā*.[10] Clothes were divided into three categories on the basis of their stitching—(i) *bahuparikamma* or clothes that required more cutting or sewing for making them fit to wear, (ii) *appaparikamma* or clothes which required very little stitching and (iii) *ahākaḍa* or clothes which required no stitching.[11] The Jaina monks, however, were to accept only the *ahākaḍa*

which were probably told by the Persian traders to keep up the secrets of its manufacture and also to emphasise its rarity and high cost (Gopal, L., *Economic Life in Northern India*, p. 152).

1. कुसुभरागो आयारमन्तो, अणायारमन्तो किमिरागो—NC. 1, p. 6, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p. 1310.
2. NC 3, p. 569.
3. NC. 3, pp. 568-69.
4. NC. 4, p. 282.
5. NC. 2, p. 191.
6. NC 2, p. 3.
7. NC. 2, p. 58, also p 3.
8. NC. 2, p. 190.
9. NC. 2, p. 93.
10. NC. 2, p. 68.
11. NC. 2, p 58.

or natural[1] clothes, although the others could also be taken during the exceptional circumstances.

Various types of stitches (*sivvaṇa*) like the *gaggara*, *daṁḍi*, *jālaga*, *gomuttigā*, *dukkhīlā* and *egakhīlā* were used for stitching the clothes.[2] *Gaggara* type of stitch (*sivvaṇa*) was used by the nuns for their clothing, while the clothes of the householders were stitched with *ḍaṁḍi* type of stitch. *Gomuttigā* was an uneven form of stitching in which the cloth was left unsewn at various places. The *egakhīlā* and *dukkhīlā* were perhaps the forms of single and double stitching. These are mentioned as improper forms of stiching and the monks were allowed to wear the clothes sewn in proper manner only (*vidhi-sivvaṇa*).[3]

It can be easily judged that the stitched garments were used by the people and we cannot accept the statement of the contemporary Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang that "the Indians of that time did not wear sewn clothes."[4]

Dress of the Jaina Monks—Leaving aside a few *viśuddha-jina-kalpikas*[5] who practised absolute nudity (*acelakatva—pāuraṇavaj-jiya*), the dress of all the Jaina monks, i.e the *aviśuddha-jina-kalpikas* and the *Sthavirakalpikas*, was to be conformed to the proper monastic rules. Five varieties of the coarse-clothes, i.e. *jamgiya*, *bhaṁgiya* etc., as mentioned before, were allowed to the Jaina monks, although ordinarily they were to accept only the cotton and the woollen clothes.[6] Monks could keep only two cotton-garments and a woollen cloth at a time. In

1. Motichandra's article on Dress in JISOA. XII.
2. NC 2, p. 60
3. Ibid.
4. Watters, op. cit I, p. 148.
5. Two types of monks are mentioned among the *Jinakalpikas*–one who ate in the hollow of their hands (*pāṇipātrabhojī*) and the others who accepted pots for eating food (*pratigrahadhārī*). Among these two also there were some who accepted clothes (*sapāuraṇa*) and the others who practised nudity (*pāuraṇa-vajjiya*). The last one alone was termed as *viśuddha-jinakalpikas*, while the others who accepted clothes were called *aviśuddha-jinakalpikas*.—NC. 2, pp. 188-89.
6. NC. 2, p. 57.

case the cotton-cloth (*kappāsiya*) was not available, the monks were to take the bark-cloth (*vāgamaya*), then the *paṭṭa*-cloth and lastly the silken cloth (*kosiyāra*). Similarly, when the woollen cloth was not available, the bark-cloth (*vāgamaya*), the silken cloth (*kosiyāra*) and finally the *paṭṭa*-cloth could be accepted in its place.[1]

Of these three clothes, the two cotton-clothes were to be used as under-garments and the woollen cloth was to be used only as outer-covering[2] to protect the body against cold climate or rains. The reverse of it, i.e. wearing the woollen cloth inside and the cotton-cloth outside, was not allowed, since it was believed that the woollen clothes could easily get soiled, attracted the lices and were difficult to wash, while the cotton-clothes on the other hand could absorb the dirt and were easy to wash.[3]

These three clothes were common to all the Jaina monks following the *jinakalpa* (*aviśuddha-jinakalpa*) as well as the *Sthavirakalpa* mode of life[4], but the latter also accepted as extra *colapaṭṭa* during the rainy season.[5] The *colapaṭṭa* was made with a cloth of two hands' length and one hand's width and was used as a square piece by folding it once. However, if the cloth was not so strong, a length of four hands was taken and it was folded twice before being used.[6] Besides, certain minor items of clothes like the *muhapottiyā* (a cloth for covering the mouth), *paḍala* (a piece used to protect the alms vessel) and *kappa* (a general term for the various requisites of the Jaina monks) have also been mentioned[7], which were kept by the monks for maintaining proper discipline in the Church.

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. NC. 2, p. 58; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1019
4. NC. 2, pp. 57, 188; NC. 4, p. 141.
5. NC. 4, p. 141.
6. Ibid
7. NC. 2, p. 93.

   Paḍala and *kappa* are technical terms for clothes required by the monks. Motichandra's explanation of *pa[illegible]* as 'p[illegible] clo-

Besides, certain rules were to be observed by the Jaina monks with regard to their clothing. Four types of *kṛtsna* or undivided or complete clothes, i.e. *dravyakṛtsna* (clothes valuable because of their material or more in size than the proper measurement prescribed for the monks), *kṣetrakṛtsna* (clothes valuable in certain regions because of being rare), *kālakṛtsna* (clothes valuable for being much in use during a particular season) and *bhāvakṛtsna* (clothes valuable because of their colour or price), were not allowed to the monks.[1] It was believed that *kṛtsna* clothes being heavy were difficult to carry around and were also difficult to wash. Moreover, these being valuable, monks wearing the *kṛtsna* clothes could be easily attacked by the thieves or be suspected by the State-officers for having made a theft.[2] Some exceptions, however, could be resorted to during the exceptional circumstances. For instance, the monks could wear the *kṛtsna* or undivided garments in the regions where all the people were accustomed to wearing the same.[3] They were allowed to wear better grades of clothes in the regions of Sindhu and Malwa where otherwise they could not procure the alms.[4] Certain latitude was also given to the kings and princes willing to embrace the monkhood; they could wear soft and fine garments till they were habituated to wearing the coarse clothes.[5] However, this being in exceptional circumstances, the Jaina monks, in general, were to wear the garments of proper measurement (*yukta—yathāpramāṇa*), without borders (*adasāga*), cheap in price (*appamulla*) and also without colour (*vaṇṇahīṇa*).[6]

thes' and *kalapakādi* as starched clothes (article on Dress in JISOA. XII, p. 30; also *Prācina Bhāratiya Veśabhūṣā*, p. 165) does not seem to be correct.

1. NC. 2, pp. 93-95.
2. NC. 2, p. 98.
3. उचितदेसे तस्मि देसे उचित कसिणं, सव्वजणो तारिसं परिभुंजति—NC. 2, p. 98.
4. NC. 3, p. 459.
5. NC. 2, p. 98.
6. NC. 2, p. 97.

Dress of the Jaina Nuns—Dress of the Jaina nuns was quite voluminous, and proper care was taken so that it covered all their limbs. The object of wearing the clothes was not to beautify the person, but to save the nuns from the lustful eyes of the society. In all, eleven clothes were worn by them of which six covered the lower half and five were for the upper half of the body.[1]

Clothes for the lower-half of the body: (i) *Uggahaṇaṁtaga*—It was a boat-shaped cloth (*nauvat*), wide at the centre and thin on the sides.[2] It was meant to cover the privities and was made with soft (*masiṇa*) and closely woven cloth (*ghaṇa*).[3] Each nun had one cloth of this type and its size varied according to the size of the body. It has also been called *avagraha*[4] in other Jaina texts.

(ii) *Paṭṭa*—*Paṭṭa* was like the strip of a dagger in its shape (*kṣurikā paṭṭikāvat*), and was tied with fasteners at the ends (*bīdagabaddha*).[5] It was four fingers in width, and its length differed according to the size of a nun's waist. It covered both the ends of the *uggahaṇaṁtaga* from the back and front, and looked like the shorts worn by the wrestler (*mallakacchāvat*).[6]

(iii) *Aḍḍhoruga*—*Aḍḍhoruga* was worn over the *uggahaṇaṁtaga* and *paṭṭa*. Covering the waist it reached till half of the thighs.[7] In shape it was like the shorts worn by the

1. NC. 2, pp 190-91, *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4082-83. According to the *Vinaya*, nuns in the Buddhist order were allowed to wear five garments. These were *saṅghāṭī*, *uttarāsaṅga*, *antarvāsa*, *saṅkakṣikā* and *kusūlaka* (a type of skirt).—Takakusu, op. cit., p. 78.
2. उग्गहणंतगं, तच्च तनुपर्यन्ते मध्ये विशालं नौवत्—NC. 2, p. 190.
3. Ibid.
4. *Bṛh. Bhā* 4084.
5. क्षुरिकापट्टिकावत् पट्टो दट्ठव्वो, अंते बीडगबद्धो—NC. 2, p. 190.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

wrestlers *(mallacalaṇākṛti)*, but it was tied on one side of the thigh or between the thighs.[1]

(iv) *Calaṇigā—Calaṇigā* was similar to *aḍḍhoruga* in shape, nevertheless it reached upto the knees and was tied with fasteners at the ends *(yotraka-nibaddha)*. Its shape resembled the cloth worn by the bamboo-top dancers *(laṁkhiyā-paridhānavat)*.[2]

(v) *Aṁtoṇiyaṁsaṇī*—It was worn at the time of dressing up in order to save the nuns from being laughed at by the people for being naked or to save them from being raped. From the waist it reached upto the half of the thighs *(addhajaṁghā)*.[3]

(vi) *Bāhiraṇiyaṁsaṇī*—From the waist it reached upto the ankles *(khaluga)* and was fastened with strings at the waist.[4]

These six clothes were used to cover up the lower-half of the body.

Clothes for the upper-half of the body : (i) *Kaṁcuka—Kaṁcuka* of the nuns was a loose *(prasiḍhila)*[5] and unstitched *(asivvita)* garment to be worn over the breasts to hide the distinct features of the body. It had a length of two and a half hands and a width of one hand and was tied with the fasteners *(jottayapaḍibaddha)* at the waist. The *kaṁcuka* of the nuns being a loose garment, resembled the *kaṁcuka* worn by the Kāpālikas *(Kāpālika-kaṁcukavat)*.[6]

(ii) *Ukkacchiya—Ukkacchiya* was so called because it covered the portion near the armpit. It was a square piece of cloth

1. उड्ढो—उरुकार्धं भजतीति अड्ढोरुगो···मल्लचलणाकृति—Ibid.
2. चलणिगा वि परिसा चेव, णवर···अहे जाणुप्पमाणा योत्रकनिबद्धा, लंखिया-परिधानवत्
—Ibid
3. उवरिं कडीओ आरद्धा अद्दो जाव अद्धजंघा—Ibid.
4. बाहिरणियंसणी उवरि कडीओ आरद्धा जाव अहो खलुगो—Ibid.
5. कंचुकस्य प्रसिढिलं परिधानमित्यर्थः—Ibid.
6. NC. 2, p. 190; *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4088.

of two and a half hands covering the breasts, the back and the right shoulder, and was fastened with the fasteners on the left shoulder.[1]

(iii) *Veyacchiya*—*Veyacchiya* was similar to *ukkacchiya* except that it was worn over the left side. The *veyacchiyāpaṭṭa* covered the *kaṁcuka* as well as the *ukkacchiya*.[2]

(iv) *Saṁghāḍī*—Four *saṁghāḍīs* of different sizes were used by the nuns for different purposes. These, however, have been counted as one item, as only one *saṁghāḍī* could be worn at a time (*yugapat paribhogābhāvāt*). One having two hands width was worn by the nuns inside the nunnery (*uvassaya*). The other two of three hands width were used while going out on begging-round (*bhikkhattha*) or for easing purposes. The fourth one having a four hands width was worn by the nuns while attending the religious sermons (*samosaraṇa*). It covered the body from shoulders to the feet when a nun stood erect.[3]

(v) *Khaṁdhakaraṇī*—It was a square piece of cloth of four hands in length and breadth, and it was to be kept upon the shoulders to protect the nuns against the strong wind. This cloth was also used for the purpose of dwarfing the stature of a beautiful nun (*rūvavatīye khujjakaraṇatthaṁ*) by putting it on the back and shoulder, and tying it with *ukkacchiya* and *veyacchiya*.[4]

These different clothes were to be worn by the nuns while going anywhere out of the nunnery. Even during the worst circumstances when the clothes were not available or were stolen away or burnt, the nuns were to cover up their limbs with something or the other like grass or leaves. Nudity was never proclaimed for the nuns and clothes were thought to be essential for keeping up proper discipline.

1. Ibid.
2. सो य वेयच्छियापट्टो कंचुयं उक्कच्छियं व च्छाएंतो परिहिज्जति—NC. 2, p. 191.
3. Ibid.; *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4089-90.
4. NC 2, p. 191; *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4091.

Costume of the Common People—A few points can also be inferred regarding the costume of the ordinary men and women in society. The common man in society wore two pieces of cloth, the *aṁtarijja* and the *uttarijja* as the lower and upper garment.[1] They were also called as *sāḍaga* and *pāuraṇa*.[2] Both these clothes have been invariably mentioned in the contemporary literature. Bāna describes Harsa as "clad in two seemly robes *(dukūla)* of bark-silk marked with a pair of flamingoes[3] and at another place as wearing the lower garment *(dvitīyāṁbara)* shot with silk threads."[4] King Śūdraka and Candrapīḍa are also mentioned to have worn two clothes—the *uttarīya* and the *adhovastra*.[5] Bāna's friend Sudrṣṭi may also be seen wearing a pair of pale Paundra clothes.[6] Yuan Chwang refers to the lower garment as *nivasana*.[7] I-Tsing, describing the costume of the Buddhist monks of the time, refers to *uttarāsaṅga* or the upper cloth and the *nivasana* or the lower garment.[8]

Besides, certain garments were particularly worn by some occupational classes to suit the nature of their work. Among these, the shorts and drawers worn by the wrestlers (*malla-kacchā*, *mallacalaṇa*), and the dress of the bamboo-top dancers (*laṁkhiyā-parihāṇa*)[9] may be mentioned.

The female dress of this time must have consisted of the three garments, i.e. the upper garment, the bodice (*kañcuka*) and the lower garment. In the contemporary literature and paintings the women can be seen wearing many clothes worn

1. अंतरिज्जं णाम णियंसणं, उत्तरिज्जं पाउरणं—NC. 3, p. 569.
2. "णियंसणं" सो य साडगो, साडगगहणातो पाउरणं पि—NC. 3, p. 368.
3. *Harṣacarita*, p. 197, text p. 202
4. Ibid., p. 59, text p 73.
5. Agrawala, *Kādambarī—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp. 23, 31, 288; see also—*Mṛcchakaṭika*, V 11 (89); *Paumacariya*, 25. 18
6. *Harṣacarita*, p. 12, text p 85
7. Watters, op. cit. 1, p. 150
8. Takakusu, op cit., p. 55.
9. NC. 2, p. 190.

by the nuns as well, such as the *kañcuka*, *ardhoruka* (*aḍḍhoruga*), *bahirnivasanī* and *saṁghāṭī*.[1] However, there seems to have been a difference between the *kañcuka* of the nuns and that of the ordinary women. The *kañcuka* of the nuns, as mentioned before, was a loose unsewn garment[2], but another type of *kañcuka* which was made by stitching the pieces of cloth together has also been mentioned in the text.[3] Evidently, this type of *kañcuka* must have been well-fitting and well-shaped, and would have been worn by women in society. In the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri, the *kañcuka* worn by Kalyāṇamālā, who kept herself dressed up in male attire, is explained as a coat like jacket full sleeved and hanging upto the knees.[4] Bāṇa also refers to the *kañcuka* of a similar type.[5]

In the 'Scene of Toilet of a Royal Lady' in the Ajanta Cave No. XVII, the mistress is shown as clad in short drawers which are similar to the *ardhoruka* garment of the Sanskrit lexicons and literature[6], and was also worn by the Jaina nuns during this time [7] Evidently, most of the garments worn by the ordinary women and nuns would have been similar except that the latter wore some additional garments to avoid nakedness of any part of the body, which in case of ordinary women was considered not as a matter of shame but quite in keeping with the fashion of the day.[8]

Besides, girls in Mahārāṣṭra used to wear a type of underwear known as *bhoyaḍā* which was worn by them from their childhood till the time they got married and conceived. Then a feast was held, the guests and relatives were invited, a cere-

1 Motichandra's article on Dress in JISOA. XII.
2 NC 2, p. 190.
3. अण्णोण्णखंडाणं इमा छिण्णसंधणा जहा कंचुगादीणं—NC. 4, p. 282.
4. PCV. 34. 15; Chandra, K. R., *A Critical Study of Paumacariyam*, p 519
5. Agrawala, *Kādambarī–Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 26.
6. Ghurye, G. S., *Indian Costume*, p 131.
7 NC. 2, p. 190
8. Motichandra's article on Dress in JISOA., XII.

mony was performed and this cloth (*bhoyaḍā*) was replaced by another cloth (*paḍaya*). This *bhoyaḍā* of Mahārāṣṭra was known as *kaccha* in the Lāṭa country.[1] Curiously enough, in his play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* Rājaśekhara, describing the dress of the girls of Mahārāṣṭra of his time, states that the dress of the ladies after their marriage was one which appeared charming owing to the arrangement of the knot—*nīvibhaṅgaviśeṣa*.[2] On its basis Ghurye has concluded that "the chief distinction between the dress of the unmarried female and married one was that whereas the former wore a skirt (*coloka*) which did not require the arranging of a knot as her lower garment, the latter put on a garment which was held in its place by a knot which enhanced the charm of their dress.[3] The above mentioned statement of the NC. also seems to be indicating towards the same difference between the dress of a married and unmarried female of Mahārāṣṭra. Besides this lower garment, the bodice (*coli*) and the other upper garment would also have been worn by the ladies of this time.

Miscellaneous Clothes—Besides those described above, there were clothes used for purposes other than wearing. The bedsheets were variously known as *atthuraṇa*, *prastaraṇa* or *pracchada*.[4] There were also the mattresses stuffed with cotton, especially with the cotton of swallow-wart—a plant called *Āka* in Hindi—(*tūli*), the pillows for head (*uvahāṇa*), pillows or cushions to be kept under the cheeks or knees (*gaṇḍuvadhāniga* and *ālimigiṇī*), round cushions made with leather-skin and stuffed with cotton (*masūraga*), the housings for elephants (*palhvī*), fluffy blankets (*koyava*), mantles (*pāvāraka*), woollen sheets (*navaya*), sheets as white as the row of teeth (*dādhiyāli*) and also the clothes woven with double yarn (*viralī*).[5] Five

1. NC. 1, p 52.
2. Vide—Ghurye, op. cit , p. 243.
3. Ibid.
4 NC. 3, pp. 168-69.
5. NC. 3, p. 321, Bṛh. Bhā. 3823-24.

types of *cilamilī* or curtains made from yarn (*sutta*) strings (*rajju*, *dora*), bark-strips (*vāga*), sticks (*daṇḍa*), and bamboo sticks (*vaṁsakaḍa*)[1] were used by the monks to protect themselves from heat, cold, rains, or the wild beasts when no shelter was available to them. These curtains were five hands in length and three in width.[2]

Shoes

Shoes were also a necessary item of the dress of the civilized people in society. The kings and nobles as well as the ordinary people were accustomed to wearing shoes and even the Jaina monks were allowed to wear the same under exceptional circumstances like illness or while passing through dense and dreary forests.[3] Different varieties of shoes like *egapuḍa* (shoes having a single sole),[4] *dupaḍādiya* (having two or more soles)[5], *ardhakhallaka* (shoes covering half the feet)[6], *samastakhallaka* (shoses covering the entire feet)[7], *khapusā* (shoes reaching upto the knees)[8], *vāgurī* (those covering the toes as well as the feet)[9], *kosaga* (shoes covering only the toes to protect them from getting struck against a stone or thorns)[10], *addhajaṁghā* (shoes covering half the thigh)[11] and *samasta*-

1. NC 2, p 40.
2. Ibid.
3. NC. 2, p. 87.
4. एगपुडं—एगतलं—Ibid.
5. NC. 2, p. 87.
6. या पादार्धमाच्छादयति सा अर्धखल्लका—Ibid.
7. या च सम्पूर्णपादमाच्छादयति सा समस्तखल्लका—Ibid.
8. या घुटकं पिदधाति सा खपुसा—Ibid.
   According to Motichandra, the *khapusā* mentioned in the Jaina texts has its equivalent in *kāvasi* mentioned in the *Fan-yu-tsaming*, the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary of Li-yen who died in A.D. 758-794. The *khapusā* or *kavasi* was probably the boot of Iranian origin brought to India by the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas whose Iranian affinities are well known.—Article on Dress in JISOA. XII, p. 261.
9. या पुनरंगुलिं च्छादित्वा पादावुपरिच्छादयति सा वागुरा—NC. 2, p. 87.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.

jaṁghā (those covering the whole thigh)[1] have been mentioned in the text. A similar description of the shoes is to be found in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* as well.[2]

Ornaments

Ornaments (*alaṁkāra*[3] , *ābharaṇa*[4]) were profusely worn. The art of ornamentation (*ābharaṇavidhi*)[5] was considered to be a special art which was carried out by a separate class of workers called *maṇḍāvagas*. Both men and women were equally fond of wearing the ornaments, although a difference must have existed between the ornaments of the two.[6]

Among the ornaments for head, *kirīṭa* or *mukuṭa* (*mauḍa*), *cūlāmaṇi* and *paṭṭa* are mentioned in the text. *Kirīṭa* or *mukuṭa*[7] was the royal crown inlaid with precious pearls and stones. In the contemporary literature and inscriptions the kings have been invariably shown as wearing the crown.[8] Yuan Chwang also observed that "garlands and tiaras with precious stones were the head-adornments of the kings".[9] *Cūlāmaṇi*[10] was another ornament for head. In the Māliya Copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Dharasena II dated A. D. 571-72, the *cūlāmaṇi* is explained as a jewel in the locks of hair on the top of the head.[11] In the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa *kirīṭa* and *cūḍāmaṇi* can

1. Ibid.
2. कोसा अद्धजंघा, जाणुय जाव समत्तजंघा—Ibid.; *Bṛh. Bhā* 3847, 3852-35.
3. NC. 2, p. 467.
4. NC. 4, pp. 2, 24.
5. हारद्धहारादिया आभरणविधी—NC. 2, p. 467.
6. मउडादिणा मंडेंति जे ते मंडावगा—NC. 2, p. 469.

   Special female nurses called *maṇḍāvaṇa-dhāī* were also employed in the houses of wealthy citizens to decorate the person of the child.—NC. 3, p. 404.
7. NC. 2, pp. 398, 469.
8. Alina Copper-plate-grant of Śīlāditya VII (dated A. D. 566-67), CII. III (39), pp. 156, 176.
9. Watters, op. cit. 1, p. 151; Beal, op. cit. 1, p. 75
10. NC. 1, p 32.
11. CII. III (38), p 168, text p. 165.

be seen as two head-ornaments of the kings coming to salute the king Tārāpīḍa.[1] *Paṭṭa* was a golden frontlet measuring four fingers[2]; the chief queen and the vassal kings (*paṭṭa-baddho-rāyāṇo*) were privileged to wear the same.[3] According to Varāhamihira, *paṭṭa* was made with pure gold (*viśuddha-kāñcana-vinirmitaḥ*), and only the king, the crown-prince, the chief queen and the commander-in-chief were entitled to wear the golden frontlet.[4]

The ear-rings (*karṇābharaṇa*) were styled as *kuṇḍala*[5] or *kaṇṇapūraga*.[6] Various varieties of the ear-rings were in vogue. In the *Kādambarī* king Śūdraka is also mentioned as "having his ears adorned with a pair of *karṇapūra* embedded with precious gems."[7]

A large variety of the necklaces was to be found. The necklace was termed either after its material or according to the style in which it was made. The following varieties of the necklaces have been mentioned—*hāra* was a chain of eighteen strings of pearls[8], *aḍḍhahāra* was made with nine strings[9],

Cūḍāmaṇi, also called *cūḍāratana*, is mentioned in the Alīna Copper-plate-grant of Śilāditya VII (CII. III (39), p. 173, also p 176) *Cūḍāmaṇi* has sometimes also been called *śikhāmaṇi*, because it was to be fixed on the tuft of the head (see—Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya*, 3. 98, 7. 106, see also—D. C. Ganguli's article—Jewellery in Ancient India, JISOA. X, pp 140-49).

1. Agrawala, *Kādambarī—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 29.
2. चउरंगुलो सुवण्णओ पट्टो—NC. 2, p. 398.
3. NC 3, p 147.
4. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 4912-15
5. कुंडलं कण्णाभरणं—NC. 2, p. 398; NC. 1, p. 130.
6. NC. 2, p. 396.
7. Agrawala, op. cit., p 31.
8. अट्ठारसलयाओ—NC. 2, p 398.
   The necklace worn by Mālatī in the *Harṣacarita* (pp. 116-17, text pp. 21-24) is also termed as *hāra*. See also—CII. III (10), pp. 42, 45.
9. णवसु अड्ढहारो—NC. 2, p 398.

egāvalī was the necklace having a single chain of multi-coloured pearls[1]; *muktāvalī*, *kaṇagāvalī* and *rayaṇāvalī* were evidently the necklaces of pearls, gold and jewels[2]; *tisariya* was the necklace having three strings of pearls[3]; *palaṁba*, also called *ulaṁba*, was a long chain reaching upto the navel[4]; *galolaiya* was a neck-chain usually worn by the married ladies.[5]

The armlets (*bahurakkhiya*) were styled as *tudiya*[6], while the bracelets were known as *kaḍaga*[7] or *valaya*.[8] Bracelets appear to have been the most popular of all the ornaments, as these have been frequently mentioned in the text. The finger-rings (*muddā*) were known; signet rings (*nāma-muddiyā*) were also worn and exchanged.[9] The girdles or waistbands (*kaḍis-utta—guṇa*)[10] and anklets (*nūpura—neura*)[11] were worn by the ladies alone. Women were capable of attracting people by the sweet sound of their bracelets (*valaya*) and anklets (*nūpura*).[12]

Flowers and Garlands

Besides the gold ornaments, the flowers were also fairly used as ornaments (*pupphādi-alaṁkāra*).[13] The profession of the garland-makers was a flourishing one. They used to sell

1. विचित्तेहिं एगसरा एगावली—NC. 2, p. 398.
   Compare—*Amarakośa*, 2. 6. 106. *Egāvalī* is to be usually seen in Gupta sculptures and paintings.–Agrawala, *Harṣacarita–Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 198
2. मुत्तिएहिं मुत्तावली, सुवण्णमणिएहिं कणगावली, रयणहिं रयणावली—NC. 2, p. 398.
3. तिण्णि सरातो तिसरियं—NC. 2, p. 398.
4. नाभि जा गच्छइ सा पलंबा सा य उलंबा भण्णति —Ibid.
5. अगारीण वा गलोलइया—Ibid.
6. तुडियं बाहुरक्खिया—Ibid.; also NC. 4, p. 167.
7. आभरणा कडगादी—NC. 4, p. 2.
8. NC. 2, p. 12.
9. NC. 1, p. 17, also *Harṣacarita*, p. 8.
10. गुणं कडीसुत्तयं—NC. 2, p. 398.
11. NC. 2, p. 12; also *Harṣacarita*, pp. 116-17.
12. NC. 2, p. 12.
13. NC. 2, p. 467.

beautiful flowers and garlands at a very high price during the festival days.[1] The flowers of different varieties (*aṇegajāti*) and different colours (*aṇegavaṇṇa*) were used for making garlands.[2] The five-coloured garlands (*paṁcavaṇṇa-māliyā*) made from the fragrant flowers like *pauma* (lotus), *uppala* (blue lotus)[3] or *mayana*[4] etc. were largely appreciated. The five-coloured garlands of Mathurā were made with grasses like *vīraṇa*[5] and were very famous. The garlands as well as the flowers were worn on the head. Such decorative flowers were called *keśa-puṣpa.*[6] The flower-chaplets (*śekhara*) were also worn. In the *Kādambarī* king Śūdraka is mentioned to have adorned his head with a flower chaplet of the fragrant Mālatī flowers after finishing his toilet.[7] Yuan Chwang obviously refers to the same custom when he says that "garlands were worn on the head"[8], and that "garlands and tiaras with precious stones were the head-adornments of the king."[9]

The garlands of different varieties were used for different purposes. The garlands made from the flowers or seeds of *guñjā* (abrus precotorius), *rudrākṣa* (eleocarpus ganitrus), *putrañjīva*, the cotton plant[10], leaves like that of *tagara* (taberna emontana)[11], *bhiṇḍa* (abelmoschus esculantus) and from the peacock-feathers (*moramgamayī*)[12] are mentioned in the text. The garlands of different types (*aṇegavidha*) were suspended on the gateways of the houses as bentings (*vaṁdaṇa-māliyā*) at the

1. NC. 4, p. 306.
2. NC 4, p 40
3. जहा पंचवण्णसुगंधपुप्फमाला पउमुप्पलोवसोभिया—NC. 3, p. 280.
4. मयणे मयणपुप्फा कीरंति, पंचवण्णा—NC. 2, p. 396.
5. वीरणातितणेहिं पंचवण्णमालियाओ कीरंति जहा महुराए—Ibid.
6. केसपुप्फादि अलंकारो—NC. 2, p 467.
7. Agrawala, op. cit., p. 31.
8. Watters, op. cit. 1, p. 148; Beal, op. cit. 1, p. 75.
9. Watters, op. cit. I, p. 151; Beal, op. cit. 1, p. 75.
10. NC. 2, p. 396.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.

time of marriage or other auspicious occasions.[1] The garlands of *muñja* grass (*mumjamāliyā*) were used for stupifying a person of sound intellect.[2] The garlands made from the monkey-bones (*makka-haḍḍa*) were tied around the neck of the children[3], evidently for protecting the child from evil spirits. In the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri Sītā is mentioned to have put around the neck of her sons the strings of the nails of tiger embedded with gold.[4] The garlands of ivory (*dantamayī*) and cowries (*kavaḍagamayī*) were also used for the same purposes.[5] The Persians, it is said, used to wear the garlands made of the horns of buffaloes (*mahisa-simga*).[6] These garlands were sold for various prices—some were quite cheap (*appamolla*), while the others were very costly (*bahumolla*).[7]

Toilet

In spite of being a monastic text, the NC. provides ample information regarding toilet and its various accessories used by the people during this time. This information usually comes in the way of prohibitive injunctions, as the monks and the nuns were not allowed to use any of these articles in normal circumstances. The kings and the princes have always been shown as having their bodies suffused with fragrant pastes (*vilevanovalittagātta*), [8] and even the ordinarily well-off householders did make a fair use of them which enriched their beauty a hundred times more.[9] The youngmen (*taruṇa*) living in the capital cities were always desirous of enjoying the company

1. विवाहेसु अणेगविहेसु अणेगविहो वदणमालियाओ कीरंति—Ibid
2. मुंजमालिया जहा—विज्जातियाणं जडीकरणे—Ibid.
3. मक्कडहड्डेसु हड्डमयी डिंभाणं गलेसु बज्झति—Ibid.
4. PCV. 97. 10.
5. NC. 2, p. 396.
6. महिससिंगेसु जहा पारसियाणं—Ibid.
7. पढमं ता जाओ अप्पमोल्लाओ वा, पच्छा बहुमोल्लाओ—Ibid.
8. NC. 1, p. 52.
9. यदा पुनगृ हवासे अभ्यंगभावेन युक्तमासीत्तदा समीपतः शतगुणा सुरूपता आसीत्—NC. 2, p 12.

of women after finishing their toilet.[1] The ladies made liberal use of the toilet-articles which gave an impetus to their sensual feelings.[2]

Certain phrases like "*ṇhāṇavatthābharaṇagaṁdhamallāṇu-levaṇadhūvaṇavāsataṁbolādi*"[3] and "*abbhaṁguvaṭṭaṇaṇhāṇavilev-aṇāpi*"[4] etc. mentioned in the text clearly reveal the whole process of toilet and its various accessories. The various items of toilet have been mentioned here in a consecutive order. It can be easily judged from these phrases that the gentleman of this time had his body anointed with perfumed oils and scented pastes (*abhyaṅga*), underwent proper massage and were scrubbed with cleansing substances (*uvaṭṭaṇa-uvvalaṇa*) before he proceeded to take bath. Fine clothes and ornaments (*vatthābharaṇa*) were worn after taking bath with the garland adjusted around the neck (*mālla*), body besmeared and suffused with various scented unguents, powders and perfumes (*aṇulevaṇa, vilevaṇa, ālimpaṇa*). Clothes were perfumed with fragrant smoke of incense (*dhūvaṇa-vāsaṇa*) and the betel-leaves were chewn to redden the lips(*tāmbola*). This description of the earlier life of the monk, i. e. when he was a house-holder,[5] bears a striking similarity with the account of earlier authorities, i. e. Suśruta and Vātsyāyana. Suśruta while laying down twenty-four rules regarding the toilet says that a man had to massage his head with oil (*śirobhayaṅga*), anoint and rub his limbs (*udvartana, utsādana-udgharṣaṇa*), take some exercise, shampoo his body and then go to his bath. After bath the body was to be suffused with fragrant paste (*anulepana*), his hair combed, nails painted, ornaments

1. तरुणेण्हातविलित्ते धीगुम्मपरिवुडे—NC. 2, p. 466.
2. तस्स य अब्भंगुव्वट्टण-ण्हाण-विलेवणादिपरायणाए मोहुब्भवो—NC. 2, p. 22.
3. NC 4, p. 3 Similar expression is also found in Pāli phrases. See—Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on 'Toilet' in *Indian Culture*, Vol I, pp. 651-66.
4. See above note 2.
5. "उवभोगो" त्ति ण्हाणवत्थाभरणगंधमल्लाणुलेवणधूवणवासतंबोलादियाणं पुव्वं आसी—NC. 4, p. 3, also NC. 2, p. 12.

worn and some scents sprinkled on his limbs.[1] Vātsyāyana gives a similar account of the toilet of a Nāgaraka[2] but he adds betel-chewing the practice of which, as seen before, has been frequently mentioned in the NC. It is evident that the same procedures regarding toilet were observed by people during these centuries also.

Various types of perfumed oils (*tella*)[3], fragrant powders (*sugaṁdha cuṇṇa*)[4], pastes and unguents (*leva*),[5] scents and perfumes (*gaṁdha*)[6] were used for beautifying the person. Perfumed oil and pastes were used prior to bath. The oil was sometimes mixed with the powders prepared from the bark or fruits of the plants like *puṇṇāga* (white lotus) and *munn'ga* (the tree aeschynomena grandi flora), and was anointed over the body.[7] The oiliness and dirt of the skin were removed by applying various cleansing substances (*uvvalana*) like *kakka*[8] and *loddha*. The *kakka* powder was prepared from the bark or fruit of the plant beleric myrobalan, various other substances were added to it (*davva-saṁjoga*).[9] The *loddha* was prepared from the bark of the *lodhra* tree (symplocos recemoze)[10] and is mentioned as *hatta-dravya*, perhaps because it could be easily acquired from the market.[11] Kālidāsa also informs us that "the bride after her bath was smeared with the *lodhra* to remove the oiliness of skin (*lodh'a-kalkana-hṛtāngatailam*) and anointed with *kāleyaka* unguent.[12]

1. Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, II, Ch XXIV, 29-33.
2. *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 45-46, sūtra 16.
3. NC. 3, p. 465.
4. NC. 2, p. 27.
5. NC. 2, p. 213.
6. NC. 2, p 467; NC. 4, p 24.
7. तेल्लमोहतो चुण्णो पुणगंमुण्णिगादिफला चुण्णिकता—NC. 3, p 465.
8. "कक्कं" उव्वलणयं—NC. 2, p. 27, also p. 212
9. दव्वसंयोगेण वा कक्कं क्रियते—NC. 2, p. 27; also NC 3, p. 465.
10. लोद्धो रुक्खो तस्स छल्ली—NC. 3, p. 465.
11. NC. 2, p. 27.
12. Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 17.

Various types of fragrant powders were prepared by pounding differnt substances. The powders like *padma-cūrṇa* (powder made from lotus-leaves), *candana-cūrṇa* (sandalwood powder), *māṣa-cūrṇa* (powder from kidney beans), *vaddhamāṇa-cūrṇa* (powder from castor-oil plant) and *paṭavāsa* (powder used to perfume dress) have been mentioned.[1] The powder prepared by pounding the dry vegetables (*kuṭṭita-vanaspati-cūrṇa*) was also used.[2]

A large number of scents and perfumes (*gandha*) were prepared by subjecting the various aromatic substances to a particular fumigating process (*gandha-yukti-kṛtā*).[3] The perfumes were used as incense[4] and were largely available from the market called *gaṁdhiyāvaṇa*.[5] Various types of perfumes like that of the sandalwood (*caṁdaṇa*), [6] musk (*migaḍa*), camphor (*kappūra*), aleo-wood (*agaru*), saffron (*kuṁkum*), olibanun (*turakkha*),[7] *paṭavāsa*,[8] *koṭṭhapuḍa* or *koṭṭhakapuḍa*[9] etc. were common. Bāṇa informs us that after taking his bath Candrāpīḍa was taken to the perfuming room (*vilepana-bhūmi*) where his limbs were anointed with sandalwood-paste (*candanenovalipta sarvāngo*) and also fumigated with the fragrance of saffron, camphor and musk (*mṛgamadakarpūrakuṁkumavāsa suvāsitā*).[10]

The fragrant pastes and unguents (*leva-āleva*) were prepared by grinding (*gharṣaṇa*) the various fragrant substances on a grinding stone (*gaṁdha-paṭṭa*).[11] Among these pastes sandal-

1. NC. 2, p. 27.
2. NC 2, p 270.
3. गंधयुत्तिकृता गंधा—NC. 2, p 109
4. NC. 3, p 243.
5. NC. 3, pp. 106, 110
6. गधे त्ति चंदणादिणा विलित्ते—NC 4, p. 4
7. मिगड-कप्पूरागरु-कुंकुम-चंदण-तुरुक्खादिए गंधे—NC. 2, p. 467.
8. NC. 2, p. 104.
9. NC. 4, p 24.
10. *Kādambari*, p 14, text pp. 33-34
11. पट्टसि गंधपट्टातो तस्थ बरा प्रधाना गंधा पीसिज्जंति—NC. 2, p. 5.
    I-Tsing mentions the same method of preparing the scent or paste

wood paste appears to have been the most popular.[1] Sandal was used as powder (*caṁdanacuṇṇa*) and also as a paste. Bāṇa also describes that "viscious sandal was used to perfume the body"[2] and that "bosoms of the ladies glistened with rich sandalwood ointment".[3] Yuan Chwang informs that "they (people of India) smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal and saffron."[4]

The collyrium (*añjana*) was applied to the eyes.[5] Two varieties of collyrium, i.e. *sovīraya* and *rasāñjana* have been mentioned.[6] Of these the former might have been the same as *srotāñjana* or antimony mentioned by Suśruta which was usually found in the vicinity of river Indus and was considered to be the purest of all the *añjanas.*[7]

Teeth were also stained or coloured.[8] People, as noted above, were accustomed to betel-eating which imparted a red colour to the teeth. Yuan Chwang observed that people stained their teeth red or black.[9]

Feet were usually dyed or stained with lack-dye (*alaktaka*).[10] While applying the dye to the feet it was made to dry up by

when he says that "the scent is prepared as follows—take any perfume tree such as sandalwood or aleo-wood and grind it with water on a flat stone until it becomes muddy, then anoint the image with it and next wash it with water".—Takakusu, op. cit., p 149.

1. कट्टादि त्ति चंदणकट्ठाओ घरिसादिसु घृष्यन्ति—NC. 2, p. 5, also चंदणस्स वा परिंडाहे घंसणं—NC. 2, p. 6.
2. *Harṣacarita*, pp 260-61.
3. *Kādambarī*, p 55.
4. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 152; Beal, op. cit., 1, p. 77.
5. NC. 2, p 220.
6. अजणमिति सोबीरयं रसंजणं वा—NC. 2, p. 290.
7. Vide–Motichandra, 'Cosmetics and Coffieur in Ancient India', *JISOA*. VIII, pp 62-145.
8. दंते फूमति रयति वा—NC. 2, p. 220.
9. Watters, op. cit., 1, p 151, Beal, op. cit, 1, p. 76.
10. अलत्तयरंगं पादेसु लाएउं पच्छा फुमति···अलत्तगाइणा रंगणं—NC. 1, p. 212.

breathing over it.[1] Bāṇa also obviously refers to the custom of applying lac-dye when he remarks that "a fresh lac-branch becomes worthless through the taking of its sap."[2]

Medicine and Heal th

While the clothes, ornaments and toilet articles aim at enhancing the outer beauty of an individual, the medicine like food aims at the inner perfection of the body. Body free from all the diseases could only be benefitted by the materialistic achievements of a people. It was firmly believed that a disease must be cured at the earliest, otherwise it would become incurable like the debt which becomes irrepayable because of its manifold interest or like a plant which is hard to be uprooted after it has grown up to a tree.[3]

The great sage Dhanvantari[4] was thought to be the first propounder of the Science of Medicine on earth. He is believed to have composed the first treatise on Medicine, viz. the *Vejjasattha*, by seeing it through his clairvoyant know-

1. अलक्तकरंगो फुमिज्जंतो लग्गति—Ibid Cf. आर्द्रालक्तकमस्याश्चरणं मुखमारुतेन वीजयितुम्—*Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act III, 13.
2. *Caṇḍīśataka*, p. 269; also *Kādambarī*, p. 23.
3. NC. 3, p. 394.
4. NC. 3, p. 512; NC 4, p. 340; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 302. In most of the ancient texts Dhanvantari is cited to have been an authority on Medical Sciences (*Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, 3. 30; *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, 18. 38; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 1 9; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 35. 9, *Carakasaṁhitā*, 6. 21), but different views have been held regarding his identity. According to the tradition preserved in the *Harivaṁsa Purāṇa* (Parva 1, Chap 29), in the dynasty of Kasa king Dhanva had a son named Dhanvantari who is said to be an incarnation of divine physician of that name on account his knowledge of medical lore. In the same line of kings Divodāsa came two generations after, and it is interesting to note that in the beginning of *Suśrutasaṁhitā* Suśruta and other sages are described as being instructed in medical lore by Divodāsa Dhanvantari, the king of Banaras (vide–Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 460).

ledge.[1] Proper study of this *Vejjasattha* was enjoined upon every student of Medicine, and one versed in its theoretical knowledge and practical application could alone be styled as *Mahāvejja*.[2] The *Vejjasattha* dealt with three types of diseases, viz. *vātila*, *pittiya* and *simbhiya*[3] which were caused by the derangement of *vāta* (air), *pitta* (bile) and *simbha* (*ślesma*--phlegm)—the three fundamental principles of physical economy.[4] A simultaneous derangement of all the three was termed *sannipāta*.[5] The sage Dhanvantari had prescribed proper medicines for different types of diseases.[6] In his various theories regarding the diseases and their treatment our author follows the precepts of Dhanvantari and the disciples of his school[7], i.e. Suśruta and others.

Diseases—Various terms like *roga*[8], *vyādhi*[9], *ātanka*[10] and *āmaya*[11] were meant to denote a disease. A distinction was marked between *roga* and *vyādhi* or *ātanka*. *Roga* denoted a disease which lasted for a long time and could only be cured slowly, while *vyādhi* or *ātanka* were serious diseases affected

For details on the problem or identity of Dhanvantari see—Sanskrit Introduction to the Nirnayasāgara edition of *Suśrutasamhitā*

1. जोगी धण्णंतरी, तेण विभंगणाणेण दट्ठु' रोगसंभवं वेज्जसत्थयं कयं—NC. 3, p 512, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p. 302.
2. Ibid.
3. वेज्जसत्थं, "तिविध" त्ति वातितो रोगो, पित्तियो व सिंभिओ व'—NC. 3, p. 417
4. For functions of *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Simbha (śleṣma)* see–Introduction to *Suśrutasamhitā* by *Bhiṣagratna* (Vol 1, p. 111).
5. NC 4, p 340.
6. NC. 4, p. 340.
7. Caraka in his discourse upon the development of the foetal body cites the opinion of Dhanvantari and also refers to the Dhanvantari School of surgeons meaning thereby Suśruta and his School.—*Suśrutasamhitā*—ed. by Bhiṣagratna, Vol. I, Introduction p. XI.
8. NC. 3, p. 417; NC. 4, p. 340
9. NC. 3, p. 256.
10. NC. 3, p 529.
11. NC. 2, p. 340.

with which a person could die immediately.[1] *Āmaya* was another term used for diseases, and patient suffering from any disease was called *āmatī*.[2]

A long list of diseases has been given in the *Niśītha Bhāṣya*. The following eight types of *vyādhis*, viz. (i) *jara* (fever), (ii) *sāsa* (asthama), (iii) *kāsa* (cough), (iv) *ḍāha* (inflamation), (v) *atisāra* (diarrhoea), (vi) *bhagaṁdara* (fistula in ano), (vii) *sūla* (colic), (viii) *ajīra* (indigestion), and the sixteen *rogas*, viz. (i) *vevā* (paralysis agitans, trembling or tremor), (ii) aggi (over-appetite), (iii) *paṁgu* (paraplegia), (iv) *vaḍabha* (humpback), (v) *ṇimmaṇi* (mental disorder), (vi) *alasa* (swelling), (vii) *sakkara* (gravel), (viii) *pameha* (a disease of urine), (ix) *bahiḥ* (deafness), (x) *aṁdha* (blindness), (xi) *kuṁta* (one without hands), (xii) *vadabha* (dwarfishness), (xiii) *gaṇḍī* (scrofula),(xiv) *koṭī* (leprosy), (xv) *khata* (wound) and (xvi) *sūī* have been mentioned.[3] A few more diseases to this list have been added by the NC. which provides a useful information on this subject.[4]

Medical Treatment—The medical treatment prescribed for the cure of diseases has been grouped under two sections—(i) *samsohaṇa*[5] or cleansing the body through emitics and purgatives, and (ii) *samsamaṇa*[6] or curing the disease with the help

1. आशुघानित्वाद् व्याधि·, चिरघातित्वाद्रोग:—NC. 3, p. 258; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 322. In the *Vipākasūtra* (ed Jaina Śāstramālā Kāryālaya, Ludhiana, pp. 56-57), however, *roga* and *ātaṅka* have been used as a combined term.
2. NC, 4, p 340, Kātyāyana (vārtika on V. 2. 122), also notes the word *amayāvi* for an ailing patient.—Agrawala, V. S , *India as Known to Panini*, p 123
3. *N. Bhā*. 3446; NC 3, p. 258. For similar lists of sixteen diseases see—*Vipākasūtra*, pp. 56-57, *Ācārāṅga*, 6. 1. 173; *Vivāgasuya*, 1, p. 7.
4. For information regarding various diseases mentioned in the NC. see—Appendix A
5. एतेसु रोगेसु संसोहणं वमण विरेयणं च—NC. 3, p. 417. Regarding the theory of *Saṁśohana* and *Saṁsamaṇa* see—*Bhiṣagratna*'s Introduction to *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Vol. 1, p. LXI; also Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, XXXIII. 2 (Vol. 2, p. 565).
6 NC. 3, p. 417.

of medicines without resorting to the former process. The act of expelling through the lower channel was called *virecana* (purgation).[1]

Various other processes like medicated baths *(snāna)* or cleansing a particular portion of the body *(uccholaṇa)*, massaging the body with oil *(abbhaṁga)*, drinking *ghee* or oil for getting a clear complexion and strength *(tappaṇa)*[2] etc. were also resorted to. *Rasāyaṇa* (the science of elixirs) was a distinct branch of Medicine which aimed at retaining the perpetual youth by arresting the body of old age and senile decay with the help of proper medicines.[3] Nasal therapy (*ṇattha*) was administered to cleanse the nasal passages.[4] Caraka also administers nasal therapy *(nasta)* in diseases of head, as nose was the gateway to the head.[5] An application of anema *(vatthi-kamma)*, especially oil anema *(ṇeha-vatthi)*, was enjoined for cleansing the body of various *doṣas*, especially for the diseases like piles or gastic trouble.[6] A physician had to be very careful in prescribing the quantity of such drugs, as excess of emises or purgation could even result in the death of the patient.[7]

The *saṁsamaṇa* way of treatment aimed at curing a disease

1. अहो सावण विरेयो—NC. 3, p. 392, अधोभाग विरेचन—Caraka, *Kalpasthāna*, I. 4.
2. वण्णबला दिणिमित्त घयादिणेहपाणं तप्पण–NC. 3, p. 392. See also–*Vipākasūtra*, p. 65.
3. वयत्थभण एगमणेगदव्वेहिं रसायणं—NC. 3, p. 392. For the importance of *Rasāyana* and the way of administering drugs for the same see—Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, XXVII, 1-4. I-Tsing also mentions *Rasāyana* as one of the eight branches of Medical Science.—Takakusu, op. cit, pp 127-28, also pp 222-23
4. णासारसादिरोगणासणत्थं णासकरणं णत्थं—NC. 3, p 392
5. Caraka, *Siddhasthāna*, 9. 88 (Vol. 4, p. 2311)
6. कडिवायअरिसविणासणत्थं च अपाणद्दारेण वत्थिणा तेल्लादिप्पदाणं वत्थिकम्मं। —NC. 3, p. 392; cf. Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, XXXV. 3 (Vol 2, p 590).
7. अतीव वमणे मरेज्ज, अतिविरेयणे वा मरेज्ज—NC 3, p. 393.

with the help of medicines, i.e. by prescribing those which were required for the pacification of the deranged elements and retaining those elements which were already in a state of aggravation.[1] Medicine was given in various forms of powders (*cuṇṇa*), pills (*gulikā*), oils (*tella*), *ghṛta* and confection (like *ghayapuṇṇa* for gastic trouble) etc. The powder or oil of the *padma* or *utpala*, *eraṇḍa*, *nimba* and *mātuluṅga*, was prescribed for the diseases of *vāta*, *pitta* and *sannipāta* respectively.[2] The powder of *elā* (cardamom) and of the various substances included in the *elādi* group (*elādigaṇa*) was recommended for the various diseases.[3] *Trikaṭu*, a mixture of dry ginger, long pepper and black pepper worked as an antidote (*agada*) against diseases.[4] There was also a type of pill (*gulikā*) which could change the voice and complexion of a person.[5]

The oils like *śatapāka* and *sahasrapāka* were highly prised and were beyond the means of ordinary citizens (*dullabha-davva*).[6] The Jaina monks were allowed even to deviate from

1. "संसमणं"—जेण दोसा समिज्जंति तं च परिपायणादिकं···"णियाण" ति जेण रोगो सभूतो जेण वा वड्ढति तस्स वज्जणं—NC 3, p 417, also *Suśrutasaṁhitā* Introduction, pp. L-lxi.
2. NC. 2, p. 316; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, p. 323.
3. "औषधं" एलाद्यचूर्ण—NC. 1, p 121. According to Suśruta, the group of medicinal drugs known as *Elādigaṇa* consists of the substances like *Elā*, *Tagara*, *Tvakpatra*, *Nāgapuṣpa*, *Priyaṅgu*, *Agaru*, *Uśīra*, *Kuṁkuma* etc.—Suśruta, *Sūtrasthāna*, XXVIII. 2.
4. NC. 1, p. 153.
5. सर-वन्नभेदकरणीहिं गुलियाहिं वा अप्पाणं अन्नहा करेज्ज—NC. 3, p. 194, also NC. 4, p 116.
6. दुल्लभदव्वं सतपाकसहस्सपागादि—NC. 1, p. 153, also p. 121. According to the *Vṛtti* on *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* the *śatapāka* and *sahasrapāka* oils were prepared either with a hundred or thousand medicinal drugs or by boiling one drug a hundred or a thousand times (*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p 1591). Suśruta in his *Cikitsāsthāna* gives an elaborate description of the various drugs required for making the *sahasrapāka* and *śatapāka* oils, and of the hard and laborious process required for their preparation. For proper details see—Suśruta, *Cikitsāsthāna*, IV. 29 (Vol. II, pp. 293-94).

the general rules for acquiring the *śatapāka* or *sahasrapāka* oil in case it was required for a patient monk.[1] *Hamsatella*[2] was the oil extracted out of the body of a *swan*. To prepare this oil a swan was killed and the viscid matter of its body was extracted by piercing it. Its body was then stuffed with various medicinal substances, stitched from outside, and kept on fire till the oil came out of it. The oil prepared in such a manner was termed *hamsatella* and was considered to be highly beneficial for curing certain diseases.

There was also a variety of fruits or flowers the smell of which was used to induce or obstruct sleep.[3] These may be compared with the sleeping tablets or anti-sleep drugs of today. Besides, the smell of certain flowers was particularly beneficial for certain diseases.[4] However, these were to be taken only when prescribed by an able physician.[5]

The plasters or ointments were used for healing the wounds. There were three varieties of ointments[6]—(i) those for killing the pain, (ii) those helping in ripening the unripe wound and (iii) those used for extracting the pus or such other viscid matter from the wound. The ointments prepared from the skin of the *japā-plant* (calm evisera), *vata* (banyan) and *tuvara* were used for killing the pain.[7] The plaster of cowdung (*gomayalepa*) was used for healing the wounds. The fresh cowdung or the cowdung dried under a shade was considered to be more effective and anti-poisonous.[8]

1. NC. 1, p 155, also p 121
2. NC 1, p 121, also *Bṛh Vṛ*. 5, p 1591.
3. राती जग्गियव्वं तत्थ किं चि एरिसं पुप्फफलं जेण जिंघिएण णिद्दा ण एति ।…निद्रालाभे वा निद्रालाभनिमित्तं जिंघति—NC. 2, p. 33
4. NC. 2, p. 33
5. Ibid.
6. सो आलेवो तिविधो—वेदणपसमकारी, पाककारी, पुतादिणीहरणकारी—NC. 2, p. 216; also NC. 3, p. 362.
7. जावत्तया वडछल्लिमादी तुवरा वेयणोवसमकारगा—NC. 3, p. 362.
8. NC. 3, pp. 361-62.

Viṣavidyā or Toxicology—*Viṣavidyā*[1] or Toxicology was another branch of Medicine. Two varieties of poison, i.e. *viṣa* and *gara*[2], have been mentioned. The former killed a person immediately, while the other caused a death due to slow-poisoning.[3] *Gara* was prepared by a combination of various medicinal drugs. Caraka also states that "there is another variety of poison called artificial poison (*gara*) which is produced by a combination of substances and which gives rise to a diseased condition. Being slow in reaction it does not kill swiftly."[4]

Snake-bite and its Remedies—The monks were proficient in detecting the snake-bite and differentiating it from the bite of the other poisonous insects on the basis of the symptoms.[5] Various methods were resorted to for eliminating the effects of a snake-bite. The person bitten by a snake was treated with the sacred *mantras*. Amulets charmed with the *mantras* were also tied around his hand.[6] Sometimes the portion affected with snake-bite was incised[7] or the poison was sucked after keeping the burnt earth or mud inside the mouth.[8] Sometimes the mud-plaster was also applied to extract the poison or the person was made to eat the earth.[9] According to another method, a piece of gold was rubbed inside the water and then golden water was given to the patient for eliminating the poisonous effects of the snake-bite.[10] The person bitten

1. NC 2, p 364.
2 NC 2, pp. 281-82.
3. जेण गरितो अच्छति ण मरति सहसा सो गरी, सो वि दव्वसंजोगा भवति—NC. 2, p. 282
4. Caraka, *Cikitsāsthāna*, 13-14 (Vol. 4, p. 2143)
5. NC. 1, p. 82.
6. दीहादिणा खइए मंतेणाभिमंतिऊण कडगबंधेण रक्खा कज्जति—NC. 1, p. 66.
7. छेदो वा कायव्वो तस्स देसस्स—NC 1, p. 82.
8. मट्टियं वा मुहे छोढुं डंको आचुसिज्जति—NC 1, p. 66.
9. आलिप्पति वा विसाकरिसणणिमित्तं मट्टियं वा भक्खयति—Ibid
10. विसे कणगं ति विषग्रस्तस्य सुवर्णं कनकं तं घेत्तुं घसिऊण विसणिग्घायणट्ठा तस्स पाणं दिज्जति—NC. 1, p. 135

by a snake was to be kept awake so that the poison did not spread all over the body.[1] Similar methods have been prescribed by the other medical authorities. According to Suśruta, incision, cauterization and sucking of the poisoned blood from the base of the bite should be highly recommended in all cases of snake-bites.[2] Dallana recommends burnt earth or earth of an ant-hill or ash for the purpose of filling up the mouth before sucking the poisoned blood.[3] As to the efficasy of the *mantras*, Suśruta remarks that "elimination of the poison with the help of the *mantras* full of the energy of Brahma of truth and austerities is more rapid than under the effects of drugs."[4]

Surgery—The science of surgery had reached an advanced stage. The physicians usually carried with them their bags of surgical instruments *(sattha-kosa)* which contained the instruments like *patthaṇa-sattha, aṁguli-sattha, sirāveha-sattha, kappaṇa-sattha, lohakaṁṭiyā, saṁḍāsaga, cṇuvehasalāgā, vīhimuha* and *sūimuha*.[5] The physicians always accompanied the army to the battle-field. The arrows were properly extracted from the body of the wounde soldiers, although it was a very painful process.[6]

Veterinary Sciences—There were also veterinary doctors versed in detecting the diseases of the animals. They could easily judge if the disease of an animal was caused by the derangement of any of the tumours of the body *(dhātuvisaṁvāda-roga)* or because of some other reason.[7] A doctor is mentioned

1. जग्ग त्ति दट्ठो जग्गाविज्जति, मा विसं ण णज्जिहिति—NC. 1, p. 82.
2. Suśruta, *Kalpasthāna*, V. 3-5.
3. Ibid.
4. Suśruta, *Kalpasthāna*, V. 10.
5. NC. 3, p. 214, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 818, *Vipākasūtra*, p. 65
6 NC. 4, p. 306; NC. 2, p. 214.
7. वेज्जेण दिट्ठो, भणियं च—णत्थि से कोति धाउविसंवादरोगो, अत्थि से कोई अव्वत्तसल्लो—NC. 4, p. 304. For the development of the veterinary science in ancient India, see Jyotirmitra's article "Science of Veterinary Medicine as Practised in Ancient India"—*Nāgārjuna*, July 1967, Vol X, NO. 11, pp. 582-94.

to have operated a horse of the king for extracting an invisible arrow or thorn which made the horse lose its strength. The body of the horse was covered with a mud-plaster and the portion containing the thorn could be observed as drying faster because of the excessive heat emanating from the portion of its body. It was then operated and the thorn was successfully extracted[1] which shows the mastery of the doctors in the field of the veterinary sciences.

These medical facilities must have been available to most of the people of the time as there were regular dispensaries and hospitals called *āroggasālā* or *aṇāhasālā*[2] run by the state where free medicine and food were provided to the patients by the king.[3] Yuan Chwang also noticed such institutions which were maintained by the State or by public-munificence for the welfare of the common or poor people.[4] Besides, there were *vejjasālās*[5] or private dispensaries run by private doctors *(vejja)* whose services could be requisitioned by the people at any time. Even the Jaina monks during the later centuries were permitted to take help of the doctors during the critical circumstances, but they were to visit the doctor at a proper time and in a proper manner.[6] For them, however, the most common method for curing a disease was to take resort to fasting or starvation.[7] Yuan Chwang also refers to this common practice of fasting when he states that "every one who is attacked by sickness has his food cut off for seven days. In this interval the patient often

1. NC. 4, p. 304.
2. "अणाहसाला" आरोग्गसाला—NC. 3, p. 259.
3. Food given by the king particularly for the patients was known as *āroggabhatta* —NC. 2, p. 455.
4. Watters, op. cit , 1, p 286, Beal, op. cit., 1, pp. 166, 198.
5. NC 3, p 173.
6. For rules prescribed for monks for approaching a doctor see—NC. 3, pp. 100-17.
7. NC. 3, p. 97.

recovers, but if he cannot regain his health, he takes medicine. Their medicines are of various kinds, each having a specific name. Their doctors differ in medical skill and in prognostication.[1] The accounts of Bāna[2] and I-Tsing[3] also reveal a similar progress in the field of the Medical Sciences.

1. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 147; Beal, op. cit, 1. p. 86.

2. *Harṣacarita*, p. 138.

3. Takakusu, op. cit, pp. 130-40.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Social stability and political security ensure the economic growth and prosperity of a country. In India, however, the usual economic life in small towns and villages has been least affected by such political vicissitudes, although it must have hampered the economy at large, i.e. in large commercial towns having a rich and flourishing trade. The general picture of society as depicted in the NC. is that of economic prosperity and opulence, although the vast differences or inequalities in the distribution of wealth may not be totally ignored. The wealth and affluence of the kings and nobles, the *seṭṭhis* occupying a high status because of their economic assistance to the State, the rich caravan-leaders (*satthavāha*) and merchants (*vāṇiya*) having a flourishing trade by land or sea, the peasant population (*karisaga*) working hard on fields, those following the industrial arts and crafts (*sippa*), the slaves (*dāsa*) and a large number of servants and hired labourers (*bhayaga-kammakāra*) earning their livelihood by hard manual work, and a large number of monks and ascetics depending on society for all the essential needs, display the economic life at its various levels. In the following pages an attempt has been made to survey the economic conditions of the age on the basis of the NC.

Agriculture (Kisivāvāra, Kisikamma)[1]

Cultivators and Fields—Agriculture was held in contempt by the Jainas as it involved killing of the innumerable insects. Those following this profession were, however, designated as "Āryans and not as Mlecchas—the two groups in which all

1. NC. 3, pp. 160, 227.

human beings were classified by the Jaina philosophers".[1] From the various references in the text it can be easily judged that agriculture was the principal occupation of the people especially in the villages. The *karisagas*[2] and the *koduṁbiyas* or *Kuḍuṁbis*[3] were the peasants and cultivating householders following the occupation of agriculture. The term *kuṭuṁbin* has been variously explained by different scholars.[4] In the NC., however, *kuḍuṁbis* are seen as cultivating householders who not only cultivated the fields themselves but were also in a position to employ servants and agricultural labourers (*kammakāra*) for the purpose of cultivation.[5] They seem to have belonged to quite well-off families and very often they provided shelter to the Jaina monks.[6] The contemporary inscriptions also show *kutuṁbins* to be agriculturist-labourers, and fields belonging to them are described as *kuṭumbikṣetras.*

1. *Prajñāpanāsūtra.* For cultivation see also—Ganguli, "Cultivation in Ancient India", *IHQ* (1930-31), p. 136 and the *Bhāṣya of Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* (published by Sheth D. L. P. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund Series, III. 15, p. 265). Vide—Hiralal Kapadia's article, "Some Reference Pertaining to Agriculture in Jain Literature", IHQ., Vol. X, p. 799
2. NC. 1, p. 115.
3. NC. 2, p. 9, NC. 3, pp. 160, 227.
4. The term *kuṭuṁbin* frequently occurring in the contemporary inscriptions has been taken in the sense of the cultivators (CII. III, 314) or the house-slaves (Kielhorn, EI. III, 314). According to D. R. Bhandarkar, they were the heads of the families of the cultivators (vide—*Jinist Studies*, pp 79-82). According to another view, *kuṭuṁbins* belonged to professional artisan classes who cultivated land as subsidiary means of livelihood (Pran Nath, Economic Condition in Ancient India, p. 157). However, the view that they were agriculturist householders appears to be more reliable.—Gopal, L., *Economic Life of Northern India*, p 24.
5. NC. 3, p. 519.
6. NC. 2, p. 9; NC. 3, p. 519.
7. CII. IV, Nos. 11, 20, 22, 24, EI. XXII, 115-20

The cultivated land or fields were known as *khetta* [1] and these were situated not very far (*abbhāse-adūre*) from the houses.[2] *Vappa* or *keyāra* was another term which denoted a wet-field[3] or field having a flourishing field-crop. The peasants always cherished to possess large fields having a flourishing field-crop of the superior variety of food grains (*viśiṣṭasasya*) like sugarcane, barley, rice etc.[4] Proper care was taken to protect the field from *ītis* or the calamities of the season (*ītivargitatvam*).[5] According to the ancient authorities *ītis* or the calamities of the season could be of six types, viz. (i) excessive rain, (ii) drought, (iii) locusts, (iv) rats, (v) parrots and (vi) foreign invasions.[6]

Agricultural Operations—The twenty-four varieties of food-grains and the different varieties of fruits, vegetables, spices, oilseeds etc. as mentioned before, formed a part of the Indian dietary during this time. These products were cultivated in the country.

A regular process was to be followed in the field of cultivation. First of all the land was ploughed by means of plough driven by the bullocks[7] and the soil was prepared for sowing. Agricultural labourers (*kammakāra*) were employed for ploughing the land [8] Ploughing and sowing (*vapaṇa*) was mostly done in the rainy season. The peasants usually stored up all the necessary articles required by them at home before the advent of the rainy season, so that the work of cultivation

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1 NC 2, p 9, NC 3, p 227; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 263
2 NC 2, p 83.
3 In the *Arthaśāstra*, *kedāra* is used in the sense of a wet-field, and a collection of adjoining wet-fields has been called *kaidārya* or *kaidāraka*.—Agrawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 195.
4. NC. 4, pp 409–10
5 NC. 4, p. 410.
6. Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa*, 1 63.
7. NC. 3, p 150.
8. NC. 3, pp 273, 519.

may not be hampered by going to the market during these busy months.[1]

After sowing the seed (*vavaṇa, ropita*)[2] the field was to be protected from the wild-beasts and thieves by making fences (*vatī*) all around and small ditches (*khātiyā*) were dug for the purpose of holding water.[3] Ripe grain was then reaped (*lūta*) with a sickle (*dātra*),[4] thrashed (*malita*), and winnowed (*pūta*)[5] with a winnowing-fan (*suppa*) which had the shape of an elephant's ear.[6] After separating the chaff, the pure (*paripūta*) grain[7] was measured (*mīyamāna*) and properly stored in a barn (*khalaga*) or granary (*kotthāgāra*). Sometimes, however, the barns were put to fire because of the personal enmity amongst the peasants.[8]

Agricultural Implements—Various implements were used for cultivation. Three different varieties of the plough, i e *hala*, *Kuliyā* and *damtāla*[9] have been mentioned in the text. *Kulita* is mentioned as a grass-cutting wooden instrument which was particularly used in Surattha. It measured two hands in length and had iron nails (*ayakīlaka*) fixed at the end along with an iron plate attached to it.[10] Among other agricultural imple-

1. NC 3, p 160
2. NC 1, p 102
3 NC 3, p 519.
4. दात्रेण लुगति पिप्पलगेण वा—NC 1, p 31.
5. वावण जातेसु लूतेसु मलितेसु पूतेसु--NC 1, p. 102 Compare—कृषन्त. वपन्त लूनन्त मृणन्त.—*Śatapatha Brāhmana*, 1 6 1. 3
6. सुप्प गयकण्णाकार भण्णति ।
7. परिपूता परिसोहिता सवमलापनीतानि—NC. 1, p. 102.
8. NC 3, p. 139
9. खेत्तोवक्कमो हलकुलियादीहिं—NC. 1, p 3; आदि सद्दातो हलदंताला घेप्पंति-- NC. 1, p 31, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, p. 79. *Hala*, *kulisa* and *daṁtūlaka* have been mentioned as three agricultural implements in Akalanka's commentary on *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*.—See, Kapadia's article on Agriculture, IHO , Vol X, p 798 In the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (p. 81), *nāṁgala* is also mentioned as a type of plough along with *hala* and *kuliya*.
10. NC 1, p. 31.

ments, the sickle (*dātra*)[1], axe (*kuhāḍa*[2], *paraśu*[3]), hatchet or spade (*saṭṭara—phāvarā* in Hindi), scissors (*pippalaga*) and knives (*churiyā*)[4] have been mentioned.

Irrigation—Since the various activites like ploughing and sowing were done in the rainy season, rains must have been the most substantial source of irrigation.[5] Apart from the rainfall, the water from rivers, lakes, ponds and wells were also used for irrigating the fields.[6] In the villages a number of peasants irrigated their fields in their respective turn (*vārageṇa*) from a common watersourse (*sāraṇipāṇiya*). An instance can be seen when a peasant secretly broke through the water-course during the turn of the other in order to irrigate his own field.[7]

Some of the regions were naturally rich in water-resources, and there the fields could be easily irrigated from the water of rivers or ponds even in the absence of rains.[8] Tosali is mentioned as such a place where water was found in abundance (*ānugadesa*) and there was never a fear of drought.[9] But frequent references to famine *(dubbhikkha)* and epidemic

1. Ibid.
2. NC 3, p 5
3. NC. 1, p 31.
4. NC 2, p. 5.
5 NC 3, p 160.
6 The commentary on *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya* provides us with interesting details regarding the irrigation sources, according to which rainfall was the main source of irrigation in the Lāta country, while in Sindhu the fields were irrigated from rivers, in Dravida from ponds and in Uttarāpatha from wells (*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 386). The same text divides the fields into two groups, viz *setu* and *ketu*, the former being irrigated by means of wells and the latter depending on rainfall (*Bṛh Bhā* 1. 826).
7. तत्थेगो करिसगो अण्णस्स वारए अण्णावदेसा पादेग णिक्कं भेत्तुण······अप्पणो खेत्ते पाणियं छुभत्ति—NC. 1, p. 115.
8. आणुगदेसो णतिसलीलादीहिं जलबहुलो······तम्मि वरिसेण विणा वि सस्स णिप्फज्जति—NC 3, p. 538.
9 Ibid.

(*aśiva*)[1] in the text clearly reveal that in certain regions there was always a fear of drought and famine which were usually accompanied with epidemic also. In such circumstances nothing could grow for want of rains, and people, especially the monks, suffered terribly for being unable in procuring alms.

Land-ownership—Regarding the ownership of the land two different theories have been upheld by the ancient Hindu law-givers—state-ownership of the land or the theory which recognises king as the owner of the land and that of the peasant-proprietorship.[2] In the context of the ownership of a garden in the NC. the author has remarked that the garden (*ārāma*) could have been purchased by the *kuduṁbī*, the *bhojika*, the village (*gāmeṇa*), the *vanik*, the *goṭṭhi* (corporation), the *ārakkhiya*, or by the king (*raṇṇā*) by paying the stipulated sum (*mulla*).[3] Here from the mention of the purchase of a garden by the king it may be judged that the theory of the state-ownership of land has not been upheld by our author, although the king like anyone else had the right to purchase the land by giving the proper price. Elsewhere in the NC. a cultivator is mentioned as cultivating on the other's field (*parāvatta-khetta*) by paying the negotiated amount of money.[4] It points towards the peasant-proprietorship of the land and that the land could be even given on rent or mortgaged by its owner. In some of the contemporary Maitraka records the fields are mentioned to have been owned by the *kutumbins* (*kuṭuṁbi-khetta*) and very often the term *satka* has been used to convey the idea of ownership.[5] It was thus the theory of

1. *Dubbhikkh* or *omakāla* (famine) and *asiva* (epidemic) have regularly been mentioned in the NC. as two circumstances in which the exceptions (*apavāda*) to the rules could be resorted to by the Jaina monks
2. For the concept of ownership of land in ancient India see—Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol III, p. 547; also Gopal, op. cit, pp. 1-31.
3. NC. 3, p. 498; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, pp 287-88.
4. जं च परायं छेत्तं बारेंतेण वुत्तं पत्तियं ते दाहंति तं पि दायव्वं—NC. 3, p. 519.
5. EI. XXII, 115-20, XXI, 183; IV, 76-81.

the peasant-proprietorship of the land which seems to have been practically carried out during these centuries.

Arts and Crafts

Apart from agriculture a number of vocational arts and crafts were practised by the people. *Sippa* was defined as an art or profession which required proper training under the guidance of an efficient teacher. It included both the fine arts as well as the crafts like chariot-making, weaving, tailoring etc.[1] A proper vocational education therefore must have been imparted to the workers in their specific field.

Vocational Education—The professions during this time were mostly hereditary in nature. Besides, the system of apprenticeship[2] was practised in imparting the industrial education. The apprentice, willing to master the art, was to enter into an agreement with the teacher for working under him for a specific period.[3] The duration of this period could be either till the time one fully mastered the art in case one was paying proper fees to the teacher[4] or it could be more than the actual time required to master the art, since the trained apprentice was expected to work free for his teacher for sometime in lieu of the training imparted.[5] The apprentice thus bound with an agreement was called *ubbaddha*, and he was not to leave his master during this period of contract. These rules must have been scrupulously practised, since we find that like a slave *(dāsa)* and the hired-labourer *(bhayaga)* a person under an agreement *(ubbaddha)* was also excluded

1. आयरितोवण्णपुव्वग रहगारतुन्नगारादीसिप्प—NC. 3, p. 272.
2. Altekar, A.S., *Education in Ancient India*, p. 187.
3. सिक्खतो सिक्खवेंतस्स केवगादि दव्व देति, सो—य जति तेण एवं उब्बद्धो जाव सिक्खा ताव तुमं ममायत्तो—NC. 3, p. 272.
4. अध एव उब्बद्धो सिक्खिए वि उवरि एत्तियं कालं ममायत्तेण भवियव्वं, तम्मि काले अपुन्ने ण कप्पति पुन्ने कप्पति—Ibid.
5. Compare—शिक्षितोपि कृतं कालमन्तेवासी समाप्नुयात्। तत्र कर्म च यत्कुर्यादाचार्यस्यैव तत्फलम् ॥—*Nāradasmṛti, Suśrūṣābhyupagamaprakaraṇa* (v. 20); Vide—Altekar, op. cit., p. 199.

from being initiated in the monastic order of the Jainas till which contract period was not over.[1] The same rules must have been carried out in case of all the important arts and crafts of the time.

Mines and Mineral-products—The mines (*āgāra*[2] or *khāṇa*) were extensively worked and *khiṭṭikhaṇa*[3] was a class of labourers especially employed for working in the mines. The following were the seven important ores produced from the mines—iron (*aya*), copper (*tavu*), tin (*tamba*), lead (*sīsaga*), silver (*hiraṇṇa, ruppa*), gold (*suvanna*) and diamond (*vaira*).[4] Besides, vessels made of bronze (*kamsa*) were also not unknown.[5] The artists were versed even in the art of *Dhātuvada*, i e. turning base metals like copper into finer ones like gold.[6]

Along with these metals, mention may also be made of the different varieties of precious stones (*pāsāna*) and gems (*maṇi*) which were usually wrought in precious metals for making ornaments. Among these, supphire (*indranīla*), ruby (*padmarāga*)[7], jasper or sunstone (*sūrakānta*), moon stone (*candrakānta*)[8], quartz (*sphatika, phādiha*)[9], baryl (*vaidūrya*) have been mentioned. *Maṇiyāras* were the dealers in precious stones and gems who gave different shapes to the stones by rubbing them on the touchstone (*sāṇa*).[10] *Mottiyas* were the beadsmen who deligently stringed beautiful pearls and beads into different types of necklaces.[11]

1. NC 3, p 272
2. NC. 2, p 329.
3. NC 3, p 273.
4. NC. 1, p. 136, NC. 2, p 329.
5. कसमय मायण—NC. 2, p. 290; NC 3, p. 173
6. यस्मिन् धम्यमाने सुवर्णादि पतते स धातु —NC 3, p. 387 Bāna also mentioned the old Dravida priest as versed in the a t of *Dhātuvada*—Agrawala, V. S., *Kādambari : Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 230.
7. NC. 3, p. 389.
8. NC. 2, p. 109
9. Ibid., also p 400.
10. NC. 2, p 5.
11. Ibid.

Workers in Metal—The rich mineral wealth of the country provided a great industry for workers in metal. Among the metal-workers the goldsmiths (*kalāda*[1], *suvaṇṇagāra*)[2] and the blacksmiths (*lohakāra, kammāra*)[3] were important. The large variety of ornaments worn by men and women provided a great scope to the art of the goldsmiths. Besides, a number of vessels and ornamental vases were cast in different metals like gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron.[4] Vessels were sometimes inlaid with diamonds (*vaira*) or other precious jewels (*maṇimaya*)[5], and were also embedded with pearl-strings (*mauktika*).[6] Yuan Chwang observed that the gold and silver vessels of the period were outstanding for their exquisite workmanship.[7] Besides, images were also cast in different metals like gold (*kaṇagapadimā*)[8] or bronze. The goldsmiths thus had a very rich and flourishing trade.[9] Yet, in spite of their wealth and prosperity, the goldsmiths were considered as unworthy of being trusted A goldsmith is mentioned to have deceived a herdsman by giving him the copper ornaments in place of the gold given by the herdsman to make the golden earrings.[10] Sometimes, however, people voluntarily gave a copper-polish to the gold ornaments to save them from being molested by the robbers or thieves.[11]

1 NC 3, p. 269
2 NC 1, p 50, NC. 3, p. 268, NC 4, p 12
3 NC 1, p 79.
4 NC 3, pp 107, 329.
5. मणिमय वा—NC 3, p 329.
6. अयमाया: पात्रविशेषा मौक्तिकलताभिरुपशोभिता —NC 3, p 172.
7 Beal, op cit, 1, p 77
8. NC 3, p 144
9 One of the goldsmiths called Anaṅgasena is mentioned to have been so rich to enable him to purchase five hundred ladies by giving a proper amount of money He also announced to pay a million Rupees to a pilot who could lead him to Pañcaśaila Island (NC. 3, p 140). Another goldsmith is mentioned to have enjoyed the company of a famous courtesan by paying the high charges (*bhāḍa*) (NC. 1, p 50) which is indicative of the affluence enjoyed by them.
10 NC 3, p 269, *Bṛh Vṛ* 5, p. 1389.
11 NC. 1, p. 130.

The blacksmiths played a useful part in village industries. They made different types of weapons[1] such as swords, daggers, lances etc. and also supplied the peasants with their agricultural implements. The work of the blacksmiths was specifically styled as *aggikamma*[2], since by heating and melting the various metals he moulded different types of objects.

Pottery—Pottery had reached an advanced stage because of the importance given to this art. There were regular markets or shops for pots known as *kuṭṭiyāvaṇa*[3], *pādabhūmi*[4] or *bhāna-bhūmi*.[5] Five apartments were required for the work of a potter (*kumbhakāra, kulāla*)— i) *paṇiyasālā* was the place where the potters or the *vaṇiks* sold the earthenware pottery; (ii) *bhaṇḍasālā* was the store-house for storing the vessels, (iii) in *kammasālā* the pots were moulded, (iv) in *payanısālā* pots were baked and (v) in *iṁdhaṇasālā* the fuel like grass or dung required for baking the pots was stored.[6]

A regular process was followed in making the earthenware pottery. The clay was kneaded with water and by rotating the wet-clay on the potter's wheel *(cakka)*.[7] Vessels of various types like *ghata, katthoraga, thāla* etc. were made. These were dried and baked on fire. A proper polish or coating (*leva*) was given to the pots. Pots were also dyed in different colours.[8] The potters either gave their wares to the Vaniks[9] on getting a little profit or sold it to the customers directly.[10]

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1. NC 1, p. 79
2. लोहारादी उट्ठेउ अग्गीकम्मेसु लग्गनि—NC 2, p 9
3. NC 2, p 47.
4. पादभूमीए वि पादा ण त्थि—NC 2, p 52.
5. NC. 2, p 100.
6. NC 4, pp 61-62, also *Bṛh Vṛ*. 4, p 963.
7 NC 1, p 30
8. परिकम्मितरांगते भायणे—NC. 3, p. 446
9. NC. 4, pp 61-62 Compare—यत्र कुम्भकारा भाजनानि विक्रीणते, वणिजो वा कुम्भकारहस्ताद् भाजनानि क्रीत्वा यत्रापणे विक्रीणन्ति सा पणितसाला—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 963.
10 Ibid , also NC. 3, p. 139.

A regular tax of 1/20, i.e. the twentieth part (*vimsati-bhāga*) was charged from the potters on the pots taken to the neighbouring village for sale;[1] this shows permanent recognition of the potter's profession by the state.

Other Occupations—Among the other skilled artisans the carpenters (*vaḍḍhakī*)[2] and chariot-makers (*rahagāra*),[3] the leather-workers or cobblers (*cammakāra, paḍakāra*),[4] the weavers (*taṁtugāra*), the dyers (*sodhaga*),[5] the calicoprinters (*chiṁpaga*), the tailors and darners (*tuṇṇagāra*)[6] may be mentioned. Apart from these skilled artisans there were people following various other vocational trades like that of the washermen (*rajaga, ṇillevaga*),[7] barbers (*ṇhāvita*),[8] rope-makers (*varuḍa*),[9] garland-makers (*mālākāra*),[10] peacock-teamers (*mayūraposaga*),[11] wood-cutters (*tanahāraga*)[12] and herdsmen (*govāla*)[13] etc. It is, however, interesting to note that while the early Jaina or Buddhist texts frequently refer to craft-guilds or *śrenis* (guilds) of the skilled artisans,[14] in the NC. they have been categorised to belong to the caste of their profession.[15] It might have been the result of the transformation of the guilds which were previously composed of same or different castes following a common occupation[16] into the regular hereditary castes during these centuries.[17]

1 NC. 4, p. 344
2 NC 3, p 44.
3. NC. 2, pp. 3, 35; NC 3, p. 169, NC 4, p 342.
4 NC 3, p 271; NC. 4, p 132.
5 NC. 3, p 271.
6. NC 3, p. 272
7 NC. 1, p 104, NC 2, p 243.
8 NC 1, p 12; NC. 2, p 243; NC. 3, p 271.
9. NC. 3, p. 270.
10. NC 2, p. 9, NC. 4, p. 360
11. NC. 3, p. 271.
12 NC. 4, p 120.
13. NC 2, p. 272.
14. LAI., p 109.
15. The *lohakāras* and the *varuḍas* are specifically mentioned as belonging to contemptible caste—NC 3, p. 270.
16. Majumdar, R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 280.
17. Gopal, op. cit, pp. 82-83.

Besides, hunting, rearing, poultry and fishing were carried on by the lowest section of society. The *loddhaya, mijaluddhaga, vāguriya, simhamāraga, sūnakāraga* and *khattiga*[1] were the hunters and butchers who regularly supplied the king and the public with the meat of the animals.[2] The snares and traps (*vāgurā*,[3] *kūta*[4]) were regularly used for hunting the animals. The *vādhas* or *saunakas* were adept in the art of bird-catching by casting the nets (*pāsa, jāla*).[5] *Medas* are also mentioned as a class of people who used to hunt with bow and arrow in their hands.[6]

Fishing was another important occupation. Early in the morning the fishermen (*machhaga, macchaggahaga*)[7] used to go for fishing with fishing hooks and nets (*macchagabamdhagādi*).[8] They also trawled the fish with fishing-hooks having iron-nails at its end and a long rope (*dīharajju*)[9] attached to it Fish were also dried, stored and sold in the market which shows that it must have been a popular industry of the time.

Labour

From the status point of view after the peasants and skilled artisans (*sippi*) there was a large population consisting of the

1. NC 2 p 9, NC. 3, pp. 198, 271
2. NC 4, p 380.
3. NC 3, p 271.
4. NC. 2, p 281
5. पासं त्ति राईण अटठा निक्खिप्पइ—Ibid
   Vāgurā, kūṭa and *pāsa* have been mentioned by Bāna also (*Harsacarita*, p 228 ; *Kādambari*, anuccheda 338) According to V. S Agrawala there was difference between the *vāgurā* and the *kūṭapāśa* *Vāgurā* was used for catching the deer, while *kūṭa* and *pāśa* for other injurious animals. *Kādambarī. Eka Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 2d0
6. NC 3, p. 198.
7. मच्छग्गाहगा मच्छिक्का, एते कम्मजु गिता—NC. 3, p. 271.
8. NC. 2, p. 9.
9. NC. 2, p 281.

dāsas,[1] *bhayagas* (*bhrtakas*),[2] *kammakāras*[3] and *sevagapurisas*[4] whose services were regularly requisitioned by the higher section of society for all sorts of hard manual work. The classification of the different types of *dāsas* and *bhayagas* given in the NC. clearly reveals a difference between the status of the two and shows that while the former were the domestic servants or slaves in a family, the latter worked as hired labourers.

Slaves and Servants—Slavery was largely in vogue and the slaves (*dāsa*, *kharaga*, *duakkhara*)[5] were usually employed by the house-holders for their domestic work. Six classes of slaves (*dāsa*) have been mentioned in the NC.—(i) slaves by birth or slaves born in family (*gabbha*), (ii) slaves by purchase (*kīta*), (iii) those reduced to slavery for non-payment of debts (*aniya*), (iv) those who accepted slavery during famine (*dubbhikkha*), (v) those made slaves by the king as a punishment for certain crime (*sāvarāha*) and (vi) the slaves formed out of the prisoners of war (*ruddha*).[6] These different classes of slaves have also been mentioned by the Brāhmanic[7] as well as the Buddhist[8] authorities, although with minor variations.

1. NC 3, p. 263
2 NC 3, p 273
3 NC 3, p 519
4 NC. 4, p 350
5 NC 2, pp 263, 265 For the institution of slavery see—"The Ideological Aspect of Slavery in Ancient India", *Journal of Orient.l Institute, Baroda*, Vol. VIII, pp. 389-98; see also– Banerjee, N.C , "Slavery in Ancient India", *Calcutta Review*, August 1930, pp 249-65.
6 NC. 3, p 263.
7 Seven types of slaves are mentioned by Manu (*Manusmṛti*, VIII 415) Eighteen kinds of slaves are mentioned by Nārada (*Naradasmṛti*, V. 26-28), while Yājñavalkya enumerates fourteen kinds of slaves (*Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, p 249).
8 The Buddhist account of slaves includes prisoners of war, the voluntary slaves, those born in the family of slaves and those reduced to slavery as a result of the judicial decision.—Law, B C , *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p 192. See also—Basu, S N , "Slavery in the Jātakas", JBORS , Vol IX, Pts 3-4, pp. 249-65

The maid-servants and the female-slaves (*dāsī*, *khariyā*, *duakkhariyā*)[1] were also employed to do various jobs (*kamma*) at home. Female slaves (*dāsī*) could be easily purchased (*mollakītā*) by paying the proper price.[2] Even the women belonging to good families could be reduced to slavery (*dāsatta*) for non-payment of debts.[3] A monk's sister is mentioned to have worked as a slave girl to a grocer on being unable to repay the debt of the oil, as it grew manifold because of the heavy interest [4] The slaves, thus reduced to slavery, could be manumitted on the payment of the balance or through voluntary manumission by the master. The house-holders embracing the monk-hood normally used to set free all their slaves and servants.[5] Mention of the word *udagasambhārā*[6] in this context perhaps points towards the ancient custom according to which the slaves were to be made free by their masters by washing their forehead.[7]

The general treatment meted out to the slaves seems to have been far from satisfactory. Slaves can be seen to run away from the family (*nattha*)[8] and the slave-girls are mentioned to have been captured by others.[9] Slave-girls formed concubines from the early period,[10] and according to our author the slave-girls could be enjoyed by all.[11] The

1 NC 2, p 430, NC 3, p 434, NC 4, p 19 See also—*Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, pp. 470, 714 and NC 4, p 1231.

2. जा वि दासी मोल्लकीता—NC 3, p 434.

3. स्तोकमपि ऋण शेष धारयन्ती क्वचिद्देशे काऽपि स्त्री तद् ऋणमददती कालक्रमेण ऋणवृद्धया दासत्वमेति—*Bṛh. Vṛ* 6, p 1663.

4. तं तेल्लं अदलतीए अपरिमियवड्ढीए वड्ढत बहु जाय। असत्ता दाउ तत्थ घरे दासत्तेण पविट्ठा—NC. 3, p 430. Cf. *Pinda Niryukti*, 319 Vide also—LAI, p. 107.

5. मा साहुबहिर्गा—"पव्वयामि" त्ति विमज्जिता—NC 3, p 430.

6. Ibid.

7. *Vya Bhā* 6. 208, *Nāradasmṛti*, V 42.

8. दुवक्खरगो वा णट्ठो—NC. 2, p 265; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1038.

9. दुवक्खरिया वा केण ति हडा—NC. 2, p 265.

10 *Arthaśāstra*, III. 13

11. खरिया सव्वजणसामण्ण ति—NC. 4, p. 19; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p 714.

slaves were treated not as free individuals but were thought to have been the property of their master along with the quadrupeds (*caupada*)[1] and other external possessions.[2] The initiation of the slaves in the Jaina Church was also restricted on the same grounds.[3]

Besides the slave-girls, female-nurses (*dhāti*) were appointed for bringing up the children in the houses of the wealthy citizens (*iḍdhighara*).[4] Five nurses, viz. the wet-nurse (*khīradhāti*), the bath-nurse (*ṇhāṇadhāti*), the toilet-nurse (*maṇ'adhāti*), the play-nurse (*kīlāvaṇadhāti*) and the lap-nurse (*aṁkadhāti*) have been mentioned who performed their respective functions.[5] Specific qualities were required for these nurses, especially for the wet-nurse [6] Brāhmanic authorities also lay down proper rules for selecting such women.[7] The occupation of these nurses was usually hereditary in a family (*pitiparamparāgaya*), although their master could relieve them of their duty any time he so desired.[8] There were also the foster-mothers or *ammadhāīs*[9] whose status must have been higher than that of these ordinary nurses. The foster-mothers (*ammadhāī*) not only performed all the functions of a mother but also served the purpose of a companion to the girl even when she was grown up.[10]

Hired Labour—Apart from the *dāsas* there were the *bhayagas* and *kammakaras* (hired labourers or wage-earners)

1. दुपद दासो दासी वा चउपद अश्वादि णट्ठ हरिय वा—NC 3, p. 475
2. Dāsa and dāsī were included among ten kinds of external possessions. —*Bṛh. Bhā.* 1 825, LAI, p 107.
3. NC. 3, p. 263.
4. तं बाल धारयतीति धाती—NC. 3, p 403
5. त जहा—खीरधाती मज्जण-मडण-कीलावण अकधाती—NC. 3, p 404
6. NC. 3, pp. 403-407.
7. Chanana, D R, *Slavery in Ancient India*, p 160
8. A nurse *(dhāti)* can be seen complaining to a monk about her master *(pabhu)* who employed another nurse in her place and thus deprived her of her hereditary occupation—NC 3, p. 405.
9. NC. 2, p 22.
10. A young girl is mentiond to have asked her fostermother *(ammadhāī)* to bring a man for her —Ibid.

who eked out their living by working on a contract basis. Four classes of the *bhayagas* are mentioned in the NC.[1]—(i) *divasabhayagas* or labourers employed on daily basis,[2] (ii) *jattābhayagas* or those employed while undertaking a journey; they assisted their master and did all the work as required during a journey on getting a definite sum,[3] (iii) *kavvālabhayagas* or labourers employed on a contract, they received their wages after finishing the work, the services of this class of labourers were usually requisitioned for doing hard manual work like digging the earth or clearing the grounds (*udda*)[4] and (iv) *uccattabhayagas* or those employed for a definite period on a stipulated sum, they were to do all types of works as directed by their master during this period of contract.[5] Nārada also mentions four categories of *bhrtakas* as distinct from the fifth category of slaves (*dāsa*)[6], and Brhaspati also describes three classes of *bhrtakas* which include (i) those who served in army, (ii) those engaged in agriculture and (iii) those who carried loads from place to place.[7]

The *kammakaras* were the agricultural labourers who were employed for cultivating the soil and guarding the fields.[8] The *gopas* or *govālas* (cowherds) are mentioned as servants

1 NC 3, p. 272, *Thānānga*, 5 382

2. काले छिण्णो सव्वदिण धण पच्छिण्ण रूवगेहिं तुमे मम कम्म कायव्व । एव दिणे दिणे भयगा घेप्पति—NC. 3, p. 273

3. इमो जत्ताभयगो—दसजोयणाणि मम सहाएण एगागिणा वा गतव्व एत्तिएण धणेण, ततो परं ते इच्छा । अन्ने उभय भाणन्ति—गतव्व कम्म च सेकायव्व—Ibid.

4. कव्वाला, खितिखाणगा, उड्डमादी, तस्स कम्ममप्पिगिज्जति, दो निण्णि वा हत्था छिन्न अछिन्न वा एत्तिय ते धण दाहामि त्ति—Ibid In Saurāstra there is even today a caste known as *Oda* which is usually employed for digging the earth —Malvania, D D, *Nisitha—Eka Adhyayana*, p 82.

5. इमो उच्चत्तभयगो—तुमे मम एच्चिर कालं कम्म कायव्व जं ज अहं भणामि, एत्तिय ते धणं दाहामि त्ति—NC. 3, p 273. This class of workers is called *Ucaka* in Gujarat—Malvania, loc. cit.

6 *Nāradasmrti*, V. 23.

7 *Brhaspatidharmaśāstra*, XV. 12-13

8 NC. 3, p. 519.

engaged for tending the cattle or milking the cows.[1] Besides, there were large number of servants and personal attendants or *sevaga-purisas*[2] like the *majjāvaga*, *maṇḍāvaga*[3] etc. who were regularly employed by the kings and wealthy citizens for carrying out their personal work According to A.N. Bose, there have been five categories of hired-labourers in ancient India, viz. those engaged in agricultural, pastoral, industrial, mercantile and household labour [4] The existence of all these types of hired labourers can be seen from the above account of the NC.

Wages—An analysis of the above-mentioned classes of the *bhayags* will reveal that two main principles were followed in deciding the wages of the labourers, i.e. either according to the duration of their work or according to the amount of work done by them. *Bhatī* was a specific term for the wages of the *bhayagas* and *kammakaras*[5], while the wages earned by a physician have been called *veyaṇa* or *veyaṇaga*.[6] Pāṇini also informs us that the wages of the unskilled or manual labourers were to be called *bhṛti*[7], while those of the skilled artisans (*śilpīs*) were known as *vetana*.[8]

The labourers could take their wages either in cash or in kind or in both combined. Instances of all the three can be found in the text, although the payment in cash seems to have been more popular. The *bhayagas* and *kammakaras* are invariably mentioned as receiving their wages in the form of

1. गोवालग "भती" वृत्ति.—NC 2, p 145; NC 3, p 433
2. NC 4, p 350
3. NC 2, p 469.
4. Bose, A N, 'Hired Iabour in Ancient India', *Indian Culture*, Vol 4, pp 252-57.
5. "भती" णाम भयगाणं कम्मकराणं ति कुत्तं भवति—NC 3, p 519.
6. ण वट्टति जनीण हत्थातो वेयणगंधेत्तुं—NC 3, p. 110.
7. कर्मणि भृती—*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III. 2, 22.
8. Ibid, III. 1, 14, 26, and II 36; Agrawala, V. S, *India as Known to Panini*, p. 236.

rūvagas[1] or money (*dhaṇa*[2], *davva*[3]). At one place, however, the labourers, especially those employed on daily wages (*divasabhayaga*), are mentioned as getting the food like rice-milk in lieu of their wages.[4] The practice of remuneration in kind can be attested from the various Sanskrit and Pali texts.[5] A cowherd (*gopa*) employed for milking the cows is mentioned to have received 1/4th of milk daily or the entire milk on every fourth day (*varagena*) as his wages.[6] The wages of an attendant are said to have been increased to an extent of one *suvarṇamāsaka* daily along with a fine pair of clothes (*pahāṇaṁ ca vatthajuyalam*) by the king.[7] Remuneration thus could be in cash as well as in kind, although payment in cash was more appreciated.

Trade

Inland Trade—Jainism being popular amongst the mercantile communities of India, especially those of the coastal regions,[8] a graphic account of their trading activities can be found in the text. Trade was carried by land (*thala*) and water ways (*jala*).[9] *Thalapattanas* were the towns rich in land-trade, while

1 NC. 3, p 273.

2 Ibid

3. *Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p 310

4. दिवसादिभयगस्स वि जस्स भती खीरादियं दिज्जति—NC 3, p 433

5 *Arthaśāstra*, II. 23, *Bṛhaspatidharmaśāstra*, XXI 13, Patañjali, *Bhāṣya*, II 36, *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV. 4 68 In *Takkala Jātaka* the labourer is mentioned to have received rice-gruel *(yāgubhattādi)* as his wages by which he could feed his father suiting his station in life.—Bose, op. cit , p 253.

6. सो य खीरियाणं चउत्थं खीरस्स गेण्हति। चउत्थदिणे वा सव्वदोहं गेण्हति—NC 3, p. 433

According to *Nāradasmṛti* (VI. 10) for tending 100 cows a heifer was to be given to the herdsman every year, for tending 200 cows a milk cow was to be given annually and the herdsman was allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day.

7. रण्णा तस्स तुट्ठेण पतिदिवसं सुवण्णमासतो वित्ती कता, पहाणं च से वत्थजुयलं दिण्णं—NC 4, p 350.

8. Gopal, op. cit., p 130

9. NC 2, p. 208.

jalapattaṇas were the ports having a flourishing water-trade.[1] Ānandapura and Dasannapura are cited as examples of *thalapattaṇa*[2], while Purima and Diva were the famous *jalapattaṇa* of the time[3] *Doṇamuhas* were the centres of trade where trade was carried by land as well as by water[4] Frequent mentions of the *pattaṇa*, *nigama* (towns exclusively inhabited by the Vaṇiks)[5], *sannivesa* (halting places for the caravans) and *putabbhedana* (trade emporiums where the packages of the trade articles were received and sold)[6] in the text reveal the importance of these trading communities which actually controlled the economic and commercial life during the period.

A regular local trade or trade within the state as well as inter-state trade existed during this time. The trade articles were classified into two groups—those brought from the villages of the same kingdom or state (*sadesagāmāo*) and those brought from the villages of the other states (*paradesagāmāo*)[7] The merchants or Vaṇiks were also divided into two groups, viz. those who lived at a definite place and sold their commodities in the market or shops (*vani*) and those who were without shop (*vivani*)[8] The latter must have moved from village to village selling their commodities. The Vaṇiks usually went to the neighbouring villages or states with their carts loaded with merchandise.[9] Some of the Vaniks even went to the distant regions for trade leaving their everything behind.

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1. पट्टण दुविह—जलपट्टण थलपट्टणं च—NC 3, p. 346
2. थलपट्टण आणंदपुराति—NC 2, p 328, *Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p. 342
3. जलपट्टण पुरिमाती—NC 2, p 328
4. जलेण थलेण दोसु वि मुह दोणमुह—Ibid The Vrtti on *Bṛhatkalpa* mentions Bhrgukaccha and Tāmralipta as two *dronamukhas* of the time (*Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, p. 342)
5. वणिया जत्थ केवला वसति णिगम—NC. 2, p. 328
6. भडगा घणा जत्थ भिज्जति त पुडाभेयणं—NC. 3, p. 347
7. परगामाहड त दुविह-सदेसगामाओ, इयरे त्ति परदेसगामाओ वा—NC. 2, p. 209
8. वणित्ति—जे णिच्चट्ठिता ववहरति, "विवणी" त्ति—जे विणा आवणेण···वाणिज्जं करेंति—NC. 4, p. 130.
9. NC 3, p. 139.

There was also a class of individual traders who carrying the miscellaneous articles of trade by themselves (lit. under their armpits—*kakkhapudiya*)[1] toured the villages throughout the year except the rainy season[2], and thus provided the villagers with all their requirements by selling their multifarious commodities.

Besides, collective or joint trade enterprise was also not unknown. Five merchants are mentioned to have embarked on a joint trade by putting an equal share (*samabhāga*).[3] When they desired to get separated the property and profit were equally divided amongst the five. For all practical purposes the traders were united under corporative bodies or trade-guilds headed by the *setthi* or *satthavāha*. The corporation of the Bālamjuya Vaniks[4] has been frequently mentioned in the text. These traders usually went to the different villages to sell or purchase the food-grains (*balañja*).[5] The contemporary inscriptions from South India also reveal Bālamjuya as flourishing corporation of a certain class of traders.[6]

1. कक्खपदेसे पुडा जस्स स कच्छपुडओ—NC. 2, p 143
2. कक्खपुडियवणिया गामेसु ण सचरंति—NC 3, p. 160
3. पच वणिया समभागसमाइत्ता ववहरति—NC. 4, p 309
4. NC 2, pp 118, 163, 164, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1158
5. जहा बालजुअ वणिउ बलज घेत्तु गाम पविट्ठो—NC. 2, p. 118, वाणिय त्ति वालजुओ—NC. 3, p. 163. वालजुयवणियाण बलजनाण वत्था पडनि—Ibid., p. 164. Also वणीण ति वालिजुक-वणिजा वलजे—(*Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p 1158)
6. Inscriptions from South India frequently refer to a corporation of merchants variously termed as *Valañjiyam*, *Valañjiyar*, *Balañji*, *Banañji* etc. The term *Valañjiyam* occurs in the Kottiyam Plate of Vira-Raghava Three Kanarese inscriptions from Baliganji (Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Nos. 38, 55, 56) refer to this corporation of merchants who are called protectors of *banañji-dharma* or *vira-balañji-dharma* The last one even gives a list of the various classes of merchants that composed this guild. The words *banajiga* in Kanarese and *balja* or *balijaga* in Telugu even now denote a class of merchants (see—EI. IV, p 296, n 2; also Majumdar, R C., op cit, pp 88-91). The term *bālamjua vanija* as mentioned in the NC. in Prakrit, or *Vāliñjuka* as mentioned in Sanskrit in the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, seems to refer to the same corporation of the merchants.

Caravan Trade—Although mention of the words like *rājam-agga* (royal roads), *duga* (junction of two roads), *tiga* (junction of three roads), *caukka* (junction of four roads), *caccara* (cross-roads), *singhādagaṭṭhaṇa* (traingular roads)[1] etc. will suggest the existence of regular roads, yet the journey through land (*thala*) was fraught with innumerable difficulties (*vyāghāta*).[2] Among these the existence of dense forests inhabited by wild tribes and wild animals, the organised bands of robbers and thieves (*bodhita, cora*), the impassable condition of roads because of heavy rains or floods, and above all the fear of seige (*rohaga*) or political upheaval (*rajjakkhobha*) in the state where the traders aspired to reach for trade were the main difficulties faced by the traders.[3] To counteract these difficulties the merchants, while embarking on large enterprises, organised themselves into corporate bodies or caravans (*sattha*) under the guidance of a caravan-leader called *satthavāha, satthapati* or *satthādhiva*. *Satthavāha* is mentioned as a senior state-officer who led the caravan with the permission of the king or state.[4] It is possible that the state would have made proper arrangements for the safety and security of the caravan.

Sometimes there were two caravan-leaders in one caravan; each of them shared equal responsibility. In such circumstances the travellers and the Jaina monks travelling with the caravan were enjoined to take permission of both the caravan-leaders.[5] Some junior officers (*ahappadhāṇa-purisa*)[6] were also appointed

1. NC. 3, pp 498, 502.
2 NC. 1, p 111. Taking into consideration these various factors I-Tsing remarks that it is important to go in a company of several men and never to proceed alone.
3 NC. 4, p 111. Medhātithi also speaks of political upheavals and disturbances (*rāṣṭropaplava*) among other causes which force the merchants from proceeding on journey for trade (Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 156). In the *Bhavisayattakahā* also we find a mother dissuading her son from going out with a caravan for fear of war.
4 NC 2, p 469, *Anu. Cū*, p. 11, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 5, p. 1040, *Amarakośa*, 3 9. 7-8.
5. जत्थ दो सत्थाधिवा तत्थ दोऽवि अणुण्णवेंति—NC 4, p. 114.
6. जे य अहप्पधाणा पुरिसा ते वि अणुण्णवेंति—Ibid.

under the caravan-leader and were given the charge of the particular wings. Apart from the traders, other people as well as the monks and ascetics willing to go to far off regions joined the caravan which provided them a strong protection against all the difficulties. It seems that they had to pay some money (*mulla*)[1] to the caravan-leader for the protection they received by joining the caravan. Even the monks were sometimes asked to pay these charges. A group of traders (*sattha*), the caravan-leader (*satthavāha*) and the travellers (*atiyattiya*) were thus three essential components of an ideal caravan.[2]

The caravans (*sattha*) were classified into five categories[3] (i) those who carried their goods by carts or waggons (*bhaṇḍī*), (ii) those who carried on camels and bullocks (*bahilaga*), (iii) those who carried loads by themselves (*bhāravaha*), (iv) the wandering people who travelled from place to place and paid for their food or those who carried food with them (*odariya*)[4], and (v) the *kārpaṭika* ascetics (*kappaḍiya*)[5] From

1. अह मुल्लेण विणा णेच्छति तो तेपि अब्भुवगच्छिज्जति—NC 4, p 111, *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 864
2. तिण्ह—सत्थस्म सत्थवाहस्म आतिअत्तियाण—NC. 3, p 215
3. सो सत्थो पचविहो—भंडि त्ति गंडी, बहिलगा उट्टबल्लिद्दादी, भारवहा पोट्टलिया वाहगा, उदरिया णाम जहिं गता तहिं चेव रूवगादी छोढु समुद्दिसति पच्छा गम्मति, अहवा—गहियसबला उदरिया, कप्पडिया भिक्खायरा—NC. 4, p 110, *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, pp 862-63
4. On the basis of *Bṛh. Bhā*. (1. 3066 ff) J C Jain (LAI, p. 117) explains (*odariyasattha*) as wandering people who travelled to earn their livelihood and went from place to place.
5. It is possible that the kappadiya-sattha consisted not only of the *kārpaṭika* ascetics but also of the pilgrims who went on a pilgrimage. The *Purāṇas* enjoin a person to assume the dress of *kārpaṭika* while going on a pilgrimage. According to *Vāyu Purāṇa* (110. 2. 3), the person after deciding to go on a pilgrimage should after worshipping Gaṇeśa, the planets and the deities should put on the dress of a *kārpaṭika* which includes a copper-ring, a copper-bracelet and reddish garments. Bhattoji prescribes the apparel of a *kārpaṭika* for pilgrimage to Gaya, while the *Padma Purāṇa* (iv. 19, 22) prescribes the same for the other Tirthas also (vide—Kane, op. cit, IV, p. 573).

the religious point of view of the Jainas, the caravan-leaders (*satthavāha*) and the travellers (*atiyattiya*) accompanying the caravan were divided into eight classes[1], such as a Jaina layman (*sāvaga*), or one devoted to his religion (*ahābhaddaga*), or a heretic (*annatitthiya*) and so on. From the economic point of view this reveals that the trade was equally carried by the Jaina and the non-Jaina communities.

The caravans normally ventured on a journey under the auspicious omens (*sakuna*) and after seeing the favourable condition of stars and moon.[2] Even the Jaina monks while travelling with a caravan were enjoined to follow the same regardless of their own particular omens.[3] A feast (*saṁkhaḍi-bhatta*) was usually given to the Brāhmanas and the caste-people before proceeding on a journey. The caravan proceeded halting at proper places where its members took their meals and rest.[4] Every precaution was taken for safe and secure journey, yet there are many instances of the caravans being robbed, looted and destroyed (*nattha*), or lost in dreary forests or deserts.[5]

Articles of Trade—The trade-articles (*sattha-vihāṇa*) were divided into four categories (i) those which could be counted (*gaṇima*) like the betel-nuts (*pūgaphala*) and *harītakī* (terminalia chebula), (ii) those which could be weighed (*dharima*) such as pepper (*pippalī*), dry ginger (*suṇṭhī*) and sugar (*khaṇḍa, sakkarā*), (iii) those which could be measured (*mejja*) such as rice and ghrta, and lastly (iv) those which were to be authenticated for genuineness (*pāriccha*) such as pearls and jewels.[6] This classification of the goods carried by the merchants for trade incidently reveals to us various articles which must have formed items of export and import.

1. NC. 4, p 112
2. अणुकूले च दे तारावले णिग्गमगो गच्छति—NC 3, p 215.
3. जदा मत्थ पत्ता तदा सत्थसं तिएण सउणेण गच्छति—Ibid., *Bṛh Vṛ*. 3, p. 868.
4 NC 4, p 113.
5 NC 3, p 527, NC 4, p 118.
6. मत्थविहाण पुण गणिमादि चउव्विध—NC 4, p. 111, NC. 1, p. 144, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 3, p 864, *Nāyādhammakahā*, 8, p. 98.

There were traders who went for trade only with the eatable commodities (*daṁtikka*) such as sweets, rice, wheat, oil, treacle, clarified butter and the different varieties of the food-grains.[1] The other class of the merchants dealt with the costlier commodities like saffron, musk, asafoetida, *tagara* and other aromatic substances.[2] Our author, because of practical considerations, suggests the monks to prefer the caravan carrying the eatable articles. In case of unforeseen calamities the members of this class of caravan could at least manage to subsist upon the articles which were being carried for trade.[3] Moreover, the caravans carrying the costlier commodities were more vulnerable to be robbed than those carrying cheaper commodities.[4]

The merchants went far and wide with their goods of trade including cheap and costly commodities. A standardization of the coinage of different regions, i.e. that of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kāñcipurī, Dīva, Suraṭṭha and Uttarāpatha[5], must have been made for the proper evalution of the trade-articles. The clothes of eastern India (*puvvadesa*) were sold at a high price in the Lāta country.[6] Clothes must have been exported from Mahissara which was a famous centre of spinning [7] The articles like long pepper (*pippalī*), yellow orpiment (*haritāla*), red arsenic (*manosilā*), salt (*loṇa*) etc. are mentioned to have been brought from long distances such as a hundred *yojanas* or more.[8] The contemporary Jaina texts frequently refer to the merchants of different regions of north and south meeting each other with their

3. NC 4, p. 111
4 The Vaṇik Sāgaradatta who was a dealer in precious pearls and jewels (*ratna-vaṇik*) is mentioned to have acted like a mad person in order to safely cross the dense forests inhabited by the wild tribes —NC. 3, p. 87.
5 NC. 2, p. 95, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, pp. 10, 64
6. NC 2, p. 94
7 NC. 3, p 569.
8 NC. 3, p. 516; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p 306.

respective merchandise.[1] In the *Samarāiccakahā* the merchant Dharaṇa of Mākamḍī is mentioned to have gone to Acalapura for selling his goods.[2]

System of Transaction—Buying and selling of the merchandise were usually done in the markets or shops which were known as *āvaṇa*[3] or *hatta*[4], *pattaṇas* or the towns having a flourishing trade had abundance of such shops which remained open throughout the year except for the rainy season.[5] The articles meant for sale were known as *paṇya*.[6] The sale-and-purchase of articles was called *kaya-vikkaya*,[7] while the sellers and the buyers were known as *kayika* or *kayaga* and *vekkayika*.[8]

There were separate markets or shops for the different articles of trade. In *gamdhiyāvaṇa*[9] the incense and other aromatic substances like sandalwood or saffron were sold. There were also specific markets for the precious metals like gold and silver.[10] *Nesatthiya* is mentioned as a place where the implements like pestles (*musali*) etc. were sold.[11] The *kuttiyāvana* and *pādabhūmi* or *bhāṇabhūmi* were the markets for pots.[12] *Potiya*[13] and *pūviyaghara*[14] were the confectioner's

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1. तत्र क्षेत्रे नानाप्रकारेभ्यो दक्षिणापथादिरूपाभ्यो दिग्भ्यो वस्त्रादिविक्रयार्थं समागत्य पिण्डिता —मिलिता ये वाणिजस्तेषु वस्त्रं वा पात्र वा सुलभम्—*Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 896, *Kuvalayamālākahā–Apabhraṁśa Kāvyatrayī* (G. O. S),introduction, p. 91.
2. *Samarāiccakahā*, VI, p 16
3. NC 3, pp. 106, 110.
4. NC 3, p. 160.
5. पट्टणेसु वि वासवद्दलेण हट्टा ण वहति—Ibid ; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1153.
6. वाणिण्ण भणितो—मम एयं पण्ण, त गेण्हसु—NC. 3, p. 110; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 257.
7. उप्पण्णे य पओयणे कयविक्कयस्स हट्ट गच्छति—NC. 3, p 160.
8. काइयेण मोल्ल दाउ ·घर णीतो । तो वेक्कइओ पच्छा···भणति—NC. 3, p. 581, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 792
9. गधियावणे चदणादियं—NC. 3, p. 106, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p 572
10. जत्थावणे सुवण्ण रयय वा तत्थ गेण्हति—NC 3, p. 106.
11. णेसत्थियएसु मुसलिमादिय—Ibid
12. NC 2, pp. 47, 52, 100.
13. पोतिएसु (सालिमादिय) खज्जगविसेसो—NC. 3, p 106.
14. आसण्णपूवियघराओ पूवे कीणेज्ज—NC.

shops, while the wine-shops or taverns were known as *majjāvaṇa, rasāvaṇa*[1], or *pāṇabhūmi*. The prices of the goods in the market were fixed in terms of money as the customers are seen paying the *rūvagas* for buying pots and clothes[2] and for commodities in the *gaṁdhiyāvaṇa*.[3]

Means of Communication—A flourishing trade demanded rapid means of communication. Different types of conveyances (*jāna, vāhana*)[4] were used for land communication, while the boats and ships served the water-ways. The merchants employed the carts and waggons (*bhandī, sagada, anuramgā* and *gaḍḍī*)[5] for carrying their goods, while the chariots (*raha*) and litters or palanquins (*sivigā*)[6] were used for more sophisticated purposes. The *jānasālās* were the coach-houses where the conveyances were kept.[7]

The animals like horses, camels and elephants were employed for carrying the loads as well as for riding purposes.[8] Yuan Chwang also noted that the elephants of Kong-u-to (near about Ganjam) were used as a means of transportation for undertaking long journeys[9] The caravans proceeding on long journey had these animals for the purpose of carrying the loads, or to carry children, sick or old people, especially when required to move very fast through insecure places.[10]

Water-Trade--Besides the land-trade, a regular water-trade was carried by means of rivers and sea. Gujarat during these

1. रसावणो नाम मज्जावणो—NC 2, p. 136
2. NC 2, p 95; *Bṛh Vṛ*. 4, p 1064
3. केण ति कतिएण गधियावणे रूवगा दिन्ना—NC 3, p 110, *Brh Vṛ* 2, p 572
4. NC. 4, p. 111.
5. अणुरगा णाम घसिओ—NC 4, p 111, also अणुरगा गड्डी—NC. 3, p 99
6. रहादिगं सव्वं जाण भण्णति। सिविगादिग जाण—NC 3, p. 99
7. जाणसालाओ वि, जाणा सिविगादि जत्थ णिक्खित्ता—NC 3, p 344
8. हत्थितुरगादिगमेव जाण—NC 3, p. 99; NC. 4, p 111; NC 2, p. 9.
9. Beal, op cit., II, p 207.
10. NC. 4, p. 111.

centuries was particularly famous for its sea-faring activities.[1] Large ships sailed in the sea, while boats of different sizes were used for river-trade. Four varieties of boats have been mentioned in the NC. Of these one type wasse a-faring (*samudda*)[2], while the other three were used in rivers (*samuddātirittajala*).[3] The first kind of boats, which must have been large boats or ships, regularly sailed from Teyālagapaṭṭaṇa (Verāvala) to Bāravai (Dvārikā).[4]

The great navigable rivers (*mahānadī*) provided an important means of water-ways. These were five in number—Ganges, Yamunā, Sarayū, Erāvatī and Mahī.[5] Besides, the rivers like Sindhu[6] and Veṇṇa or Kanhavenna (in Ābhīra Visaya)[7] have also been mentioned. The rivers of Koṁkaṇa were usually full of stones which caused great difficulty to the

1 Describing the maritime activities of Gujarat Yuan Chwang remarks: As the Saurastra country 'is on the western sea-route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of the commodities' (Beal, op cit, IV, pp 459) According to *Mañju-Śrī-Mūlakalpa* (ed by Jayaswal, p 25), a contemporary Buddhist work, people of Valabhī reached Sura by crossing the sea. Describing the economic importance of Valabhī Dandin says that ships were owned there even by private individuals (*Daśakumāracarita*, Bombay, 1925, p 225)

2. नारिणी णावातारिमे उद्गे चउरो णावाप्पगारा भवंति । तत्थ एगा समुद्दे भवति, जहा तेयालग-पट्टणाओ बारवइ गम्मइ ।—NC. 1, p. 69.

3. The other three types of boats mentioned in the text are: (i) those sailing according to the current of the water (*anuśrotagāmini*), (ii) those sailing against the current (*pratilomagāmini*) and (iii) those used for crossing the rivers (*tiracch-saṁtāriṇi*)—NC 1, p 69. These three appear to be three distinct positions assumed by a boat during the course of its journey and may not be regarded as three different varieties of boats, yet this four-fold classification of the boats indeed reveals that there existed a difference between the ships sailing in the sea and the boats sailing in rivers, although both have been called by a common term, viz. *nāva*.

4 NC 1, p 69

5. NC. 3, p. 364; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 5, p. 1487

6. NC. 4, p. 38.

7. NC 3, p 425

boats navigating through the rivers [1] These rivers must have served as important trade-routes of the time and were a source of great cultural contact between the different regions of India.

Journey by water was not very safe because of the fear of the large acquatic animals[2], yet water-route must have been more convenient for the traders than the land-route. *Jalapattaṇas*, as mentioned before, were the large commercial towns where trade was carried by water-routes.[3] Very often the Vaṇiks can be seen going out for trade after loading their boats. Sometimes they boarded a common vessel or exchanged their old boats with the new ones which could sail faster [4] Travellers could also cross the rivers by paying the proper ferry-charges.[5] The monks, however, were considered as undesirable burdens, since they had nothing to pay as ferry charges.

Sea-Voyages—A few stories mentioned in the text reveal that sea-voyages were frequently undertaken by the merchants. We find a goldsmith anouncing to pay a million rupees to a pilot who could lead him to Pañcaśaila island.[6] The ship (*pavahana*) of a merchant (*vaṇiya*) is mentioned to have remained lost at the sea for over six months before it could reach Vītibhayapattana [7] Another ship of a merchant, who went out for trade (*vāṇijja*) along with his wife, was ship-wrecked because of the terrible cyclone in the sea. Taking resort to a plank (*phalaga*) the lady reached an island from where she could reach her home-town after a number of years by boarding a vessel which had reached the island in course

1. कोंकणविसए णदीसु अंतो जलस्स कल्लुगा पासाणा भवंति ते पाद अचेयणं करेंति छिंदति—NC. 3, p 370.
2. पच्चवाओ पुण जले गाहा-मगर-मच्छादि —NC. 2, p. 210
3. जलेण जस्स भडमागच्छति तं जलपट्टण—NC. 3, p. 346, NC. 2, p. 32.
4 NC 3, p. 206.
5. भत्तीए त्ति—भाडएण गेण्हति—NC. 4, p. 206.
6. NC 3, p 140.
7 NC. 3, p. 142, *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 18, p. 252.

of its journey.[1] Though the historiocity of these voyages may not be proved, yet they reveal a sound practical knowledge of the various technical features of shipping.

Ships and Boats—The sea-going vessel was known as *ṇāva*[2], *pota*[3], *pavahaṇa*[4], *vāhana*[5] or *jānapatta*[6], and its pilot was called *nāviga*[7] or *ṇijjāmaga*.[8] Definite places were reserved in a ship or boat for different purposes. The front portion (*purato*) was assigned to a deity (*devayatthāṇa*), the guiding deity of the ship[9], the middle portion (*majjha*) was reserved for the mast (*kūva, kūvaga* or *siṁva*), while the pilot (*nijjāmaga*) sat at the back of the ship (*aṁta*).[10] The ship was fitted with ores (*ālitta*) which had a blade having the shape of a Pippala-leave attached to one of its ends.[11] The ship could be steered towards right or left by means of pushing the rudder (*vaṁsa*) by feet.[12] People embarked on journey with adequate provisions for food (*gahiya-saṁbala*)[13] as the ship had sometimes to sail in the sea for months together.

Apart from the sea-going vessels, there were different types of small and large boats which sailed in the rivers. The *ghatanāva* was a kind of boat prepared by tying the earthen

1 NC 3, p 269, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 5, p. 1388
2 NC. 1, p 69
3. NC 4, p 400.
4. NC. 3, p 142
5. NC 2, p 439.
6. NC. 3, p. 269.
7. NC. 3, p. 140
8 NC. 3, p. 374.
9. Certain gods and goddesses were thought to have been their guiding deities by the boatsmen. One such Devī was Manimekhalā who was considered to be the goddess of pilots and ships in south.—V S Agrawala's intro to *Sārthavāha*, p. 4.
10 NC. 3, p 374, also NC 1, p. 74.
11. तणुतर दीह अलित्तागिती अलित्तं, आसत्थो पिप्पलो तस्स पत्तस्स सरिसो रुंदो पिहो भवति—NC. 4, p 209.
12. वंसो वेणू तस्स अवट्ठंभेण पादेहिं पेरिता णावा गच्छति—Ibid.
13. NC. 3, p. 140

jars on the four corners of a wooden frame [1] The *tumba* boat was made by filling up a net (*jāla*) with a number of dry gourds (*alābu*).[2] *Udupa* was a type of small boat, it was also know as *kotthimba*.[3] In the *paṇṇi* type of boat two baskets of the *panni* leaves were tied together for the purpose of crossing the river (*samtarana*).[4] Besides, some other primitive devices like a plank (*phalaga*)[5], an earthen jar (*kumbha*)[6] and the leather bag filled with air (*drti or dati*)[7] were also resorted to for the same purposes.

On the basis of the description of ships available in the Jaina text *Amgavijjā*, four varieties of ships are believed to have existed in ancient India.[8] Of these *ṇāva* and *pota* were the largest ships, the *kotthimba*, *samghāda*, *plava* and *tappaka* were a little smaller; the *kattha* and *vela* were next in size, while the *tumba*, *kumbha* and *dati* were the ships of the smallest size [9] Out of these different types of ships, the *nāva*, *pota*, *kotthimba*, *tumba*, *kumbha* and *dati*, as noted above, have been mentioned in the NC. Besides, the NC. also refers to other types of boats like *udupa*, *ghaṭanāva* and *paṇṇi*. It is doubtful if the *kumbha* and *dati* were actually the different types of ships or simply the

1. अहवा चउक्कट्ठि काउ कोणे कोणे घडओ बज्झति, तत्थ अवलंबिउ आरुभिउ वा सतरण कज्जति—NC 1, p 70
2. तुंबे त्ति मच्छियजालसरिसं जालं काऊण अलाबुगाण भरिज्जति, तसि आरूढेहिं सतरण कज्जति—Ibid
3. उडुवो कोट्टिंबो—NC 3, p 364, उडुपे त्ति कोट्टिंबो—NC 1, p 70. The word *Ko'thimba* or *Ko'imba* occurring in the various Jaina texts has been identified with Cotymba of the *Periplus* which was a variety of Indian ships sailing near the sea-coast of Bhrgukaccha to help the foreign ships which reached near the port —See, Agrawala's introduction to Motichandra's *Sārthavāha*, p 10
4. पण्णि त्ति पण्णिमया महता भारगा बज्झति, ते जमला बंधेउ ते य अवलंबिउ सतरण कज्जति—NC 1. p 70, also NC 3, p 364.
5. NC 3, p. 269.
6. NC 1, pp 70, 72, NC 3, p. 364.
7. दत्तिए त्ति वायफुण्णो दत्तितो, तेण वा सतरण—NC. 1, p. 70
8. Agrawala's introduction to *Sārthavāha*, p 10.
9. Ibid

earthen jars and the 'leather-bags filled with air' for crossing the rivers. However, it is clear that these different devices were largely in vogue during these centuries for the purpose of the river and sea-trade.

Foreign Sea-Trade—See-trade with foreign countries also existed during this time. *Cīnāṁsuka* is explained as cloth brought from China, while the Malaya cloth was from the Malaya country.[1] The dye called *kimirāga (kiramadānā)* has also been mentioned[2] which must have been imported from Persia.[3] Sea-route between India and China was more frequently used during these centuries, as among the sixty Chinese pilgrims mentioned by I-Tsing thirty-seven are found to have gone by sea [4]

In spite of a regular sea-trade, sea-voyages were not very safe. Apart from the fear of the ship-wrecks or the wild acquatic animals, the fear of the sea-pirates was most important. We are informed that the sea-pirates, who captured men and deprived them of their belongings, constantly kept on moving in the sea on their large boats (*ṇāva)* or the pirate-ships [5] Perhaps the author here makes a reference to the piratical activities of the Gujarat traders[6] or the Arab traders[7], which had started on the western coast as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D

Ports—Among the chief historic ports of Gujarat, Bāravai, Teyālagapaṭṭaṇa, Purima, Dīva, Pabhāsā and Bharukaccha have been mentioned. The ships are mentioned to have regularly sailed from Teyālagapaṭṭana to Bāravai.[8] Bāravai seems to be same as Dvārakā on the sea-shore, although it has

1. NC. 2, p 399.
2. NC. 3, p. 149.
3. Gopal, op. cit., p 152
4. Ibid., pp. 108-09.
5. सरीरतेणा उवकरणतेणा उभयतेणा वा कत्थइ समुद्दमज्झे णावाहि भमंति—NC. 3, p. 367.
6. Gopal, op. cit., pp. 127-28.
7. Housani, *Arab Sea-faring*, pp. 53-55.
8. जहा तेयालग-पट्टणाओ बारवइ गम्मइ—NC. 1, p 69.

been identified with modern Junagadh also.[1] Teyālaga was another name of Verāvala which was a famous sea-port of the time. The poet Bilhaṇa during his course of career is mentioned to have sailed from the port of Verāvala for Honāvara near Gokarna.[2]

Purima or Purī, mentioned as a famous *jalapattaṇa* of the time[3], was another sea-port on the western coast. It has been wrongly identified with Puri in Orissa on the eastern coast.[4] The Aihole Praśasti, dated Śaka Samvat 556, mentions the Cālukya sovereign Pulakeśin II to have beseiged Purī, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants.[5] Purī, on the western coast, has been identified with Chandapur or Chandor in the present Goa territory or with Gharapuri or the Elephanta Island across the Bombay harbour.[6]

Dīva is mentioned as an island situated about a *yojana* away in the south of Saurāṣṭra.[7] It is still known by the same name.[8] Pabhāsā was a famous place of pilgrimage during this time.[9] It has been identified with Somanātha in Kathiawar.[10] The existence of Pabhāsā as famous sea-port is confirmed by Merutuṅga who narrates how Yogarāja, the grandson of Vanarāja, seized the ships at Pabhāsā.[11]

The most important sea-port was Bharukaccha in Lāṭa country which played an important part in foreign sea-trade. The foreign merchants (*āgaṁtuga-vaniya*)[12] regularly came to

1 Bhattasali, N K., *IHQ.*, 1934, pp 541-50. Vide also—LAI, p. 271.
2. Gopal, op. cit, p. 92.
3. NC 2, p 328.
4. LAI., p 325.
5 Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulkeshin II," EI. VI, pp 9-10
6. Virji, K J., *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p 67
7 NC 2, p. 95
8. In the later centuries Div became a famous port of call for all the vessels bound to and from Gujarat, the Red sea and the Persian gulf—Majmudar, M. R., *Cultural History of Gujarat*, p. 71.
9. NC 3, p 195.
10 GD, p 157
11 Majmudar, M R., op cit., p 317
12 NC. 2, p. 439; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 594

Bharukaccha for trade, and some of them are even mentioned to have captured the beautiful young Jaina nuns. An instance may be cited of the merchants who after initiating themselves as Jaina laymen and thus gaining the faith of the Church authorities, called the nuns to worship the deity or Caitya established inside the ship, and the moment they entered, the ship was sailed [1] The importance of Bharukaccha as a seaport has been recorded by all the foreign merchants and travellers.[2] It is well-known that the maritime activities of the port of Broach which had commenced as early as the second millennium B.C. continued unabated until the seventh century A D.[3]

In spite of a regular trade by land and water, a slow decline in the standards of trade can be judged from the text. Apart from other difficulties the fear of seige *(rohaga)* and political upheaval *(rajjukhobha)* must have considerably effected the land-trade, while the inviolable activities of the sea-pirates proved to be a cause of slow decline in the standards of shipping.

Coinage

A flourishing trade afforded great possibilities for a rich coinage Coins were the regular media of exchange in buying and selling commodities. No examples of barter-system can be observed in the text. The servants, however, could sometime be paid in cash as well as in kind.[4] Coins made of gold, silver and copper[5] have been mentioned in the text. The existence of these different coins may be easily proved by the combined testimony of Yuan Chwang[6] and Sulaiman—the Arab traveller who visited Gujarat in 851 A.D.[7]

1 Ibid.
2 MacCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, pp. 98-100. Al-Idrisi also mentions Baruch (Broach) as a port of call for ships coming to China and Sind —Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 87.
3 Majmudar, M R., op cit., p. 66.
4. NC. 3, p. 433.
5 NC. 3, p. 111, *Bṛh.* Vṛ. 2, p. 573.
6. Watters, op cit , 1, p. 178, Beal, op cit., 1, pp. 89-90.
7. Rās Mālā, p. 45

The term *hiraṇṇa*[1] denoted money in general, and among the gold coins *suvaṇṇa* or *dīnāra*[2] and *suvaṇṇamāsaka*[3] have been mentioned. According to Bhandarkar, *suvarna*, when associated with *hiraṇya*, stood not for gold but for a type of gold coin.[4] *Dīnāra* is mentioned as a gold coin which was common in eastern India *(Puvvadesa)*.[5] A hoard of *dīnāras* minted by king Mayurāṅka and engraved with the peacock-replica *(mayūra-anka)*[6] is mentioned to have been discovered by a person who was later punished by the king for making use of these coins without the permission of the state. It is well-known that the Guptas struck two types of gold coins one of which conformed to the weight of Roman Dinarus standard and the other that of Manu's *suvarṇa*.[7] Viṣṇugupta as quoted in Hemadri's *Vrātakhaṇḍa* equates 7 *rūpakas* with a *suvarṇa* and 28 *rūpakas* with a *dīnāra*.[8] Nārada and Kātyāyana[9], however, regard both the terms, i.e. *suvarna* and *dīnāra*, as synonyms. The author of the NC. also shares the same view.

Suvannamāsaka is another type of gold coin mentioned in the text. The wages of an attendant are mentioned to have been increased to an extent of one *suvaṇṇamāsaka* daily by the

1. हिरण्ण रूपका—NC. 2, p. 109 Vātsyāyana also uses the word *hiranya* for money in general which, according to H. C Chakaldar, perhaps includes gold and silvar coins —*Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 150
2. NC. 3, p. 111, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p 574.
3. NC 4, p 350.
4. Bhandarkar, D R , *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.
5. "पंय" त्ति सुवन्न, जहा पुव्वदेसे दीणारो ।—NC 3, p. 111, *Bṛh.* Vṛ. 2, p 574
6. NC. 3, p 388 The practice of engraving coins with peacock stamp was quite prevalent in ancient India. The coins of Kumāra-gupta are mostly engraved with the stamp of peacock—the bird sacred to Kumāra and his name sake These have been found in large number in peninsula and also in central Gujarat The Maitrakas of Valabhi also issued coins which bore the goddess Pārvatī, a peacock and a trident.—Majmudar, M. R , op. cit , pp 123-24.
7. Bhandarkar, D R., *Lectures on Indian Numismatics*, p. 183, also Brown, *Coins of India*, p 45.
8. Kane, P.V., op cit., vol. III, p 122.
9. Ibid

king for being pleased with his work.[1] The *suvarṇamāṣaka* was a gold coin equal to one *māṣa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage and weighed five rattīs when issued in gold or copper.[2] It may, however, be noted that while the specimens of the silver and copper *māṣas* are known, the *suvarnamāṣaka* occurs only in literature.[3]

Among the silver coins the *rūvagas*[4] or *rūpakas*[5] were the most popular. The word *rūvaga* was sometimes used as a common denomination of money[6], but it also denoted a specific silver coin. The *rūvagas* of different regions were usually named after their region and their value differed from region to region. The *rūvagas* of Dīva (an island situated amidst the sea at the distance of a *yojana* in the south of Saurāṣṭra) were known as *sābharaga*[7] or *Dīviccaga,* while the *Uttarāpahaga, Pāṭaliputtaga* or *Kusumapuraga*, and *Dakkhiṇāpahaga* were the *rūvagas* of these specific regions.[8] The *rūvaga* of Kāñcipurī was called *nelao* or *nelaka.*[9]

Regarding the relative value of the *rūvagas* of the different regions, we are informed that two *sābharaga-rūvagas* of Dīva were equivalent to one of Uttarāpatha, and two of Uttarāpatha were equivalent to one of Pāṭaliputra.[10] According to another scheme, two *rūvagas* of Dakṣiṇāpatha were equated with one *nelaka-rūvaga* of Kāñcipurī and two of Kāñcipurī

1. रण्णा तस्स तुट्ठेण पतिदिवस सुवण्णमासतो वित्ती कता—NC. 4, p 350.
2. Bhandarkar, D R., *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 53.
3. Agrawala, V. S , *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 262.
4. NC. 2, p 95.
5. NC 3, p 576
6. Gopal, op cit , p 205.
7. NC 2, p 95 According to Motichandra, *sābharagas* were the pre-Islamic coins known as Sabien coins —See, LAI , p 120.
8. NC. 2, p. 95.
9. NC. 2, p. 95, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1069.
10. तेहिं दोहिं दिव्विच्चगेहिं एक्को उत्तरापहको भवति, तेहिं एक्को पाडलिपुत्तगो—NC. 2, p. 95; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1069.

were equivalent to one of Paṭaliputra.[1] This scheme may be cleary understood from the following table :

Rūvaga Sābharaga or Dīviccaga 2 = Rūvaga Uttarāpahaga 1.
Rūvaga Uttarāpahaga 2 = Rūvaga Pāḍaliputtaga 1.

Or

Rūvaga Dakkhināpahaga 2 = Rūvaga Kāñcipurī (Nelaka) I.
Rūvaga Kāñcipurī (Nelaka) 2 = Rūvaga Pāḍaliputtaga I.

The *rūvaga* of Pāḍaliputta was thus considered to be the standard money of the time. It is significant to note that the prices of all the articles in the NC. are given according to this standard of Pāḍaliputtage money.[2]

Among the copper coins *(tāmmamaya)* the *nāṇaka*[3], *kāhāvaṇa*[4] and *kāgini*[5] have been mentioned. At one place in the NC. *kāginī* is explained as a silver coin which was popular in South India.[6] In the commentary of the *Bṛhatakalpa Bhāṣya* it is mentioned as a copper coin common in south.[7] The *kāgini*, mentioned as smallest coin in the context of Samprati's coronation,[8] however, must have been same as *kakini* which is mentioned by Kauṭilya as a copper coin equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a copper *karṣāpaṇa*.[9] *Kahāvaṇas* are to be seen as coins of small denomination[10] and these must have been same as the copper *karṣāpanas*.[11] Besides, mention has been made of a

1. दक्खिणापहगा दो रूपगा कंचिपुरीए एक्को णेलओ भवति, नेलका रूपक , स नेलओ दुगुणो एगो कुसुमपुरगो भवति—Ibid
2. अनेन रूपकप्रमाणेन अष्टादशकादिप्रमाण गृहीतव्यम—NC 2, p. 95
3. ताम्रमय वा ज णाणग ववहरति—NC 3, p. 111, *Brh. Vr* 2, p 573
4 NC 3, p 173
5 NC 2, p 362, NC 3, p 111
6. जहा दक्षिणावहे कागणीरुप्पमय—NC. 3, p. 111.
7. ताम्रमय वा नाणक यद् व्यवह्रियते, यथा—दक्षिणापथे काकिणी—*Bṛh. Vṛ* 2, p 573.
8. असोगसिरिणो पुत्तो, अंधो जायति कागिणि—NC 2, p. 362
9 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 95, *Uttarā. Ṭī*. 7. 11, p. 118.
10 NC. 3, p. 173.
11. The copper *karṣāpaṇa* was the standard money from slightly before the rise of the Mauryas to at least the beginning of the Gupta supre-

leather coin (*cammalāto*) or to the coins issued by king Vammalāta (Dhammalāta[1] according to another reading) which were used in Bhillamāla. In the commentary on the *Bṛhtakalpa Bhāsya*, however, it's variation is to be found in *dramma*, which is mentioned as a famous silver coin.[2]

Besides, cowries (*kavaḍdaga, varādaga*) were also used in buying and selling the commodities.[3] Fa-hien[4] as well as Yuan Chwang[5] noted that cowries were used as media of exchange. Sulaiman, the Arab traveller who visited Gujarat in 851 A. D, also observed that 'shells are current in this region and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver.'[6]

Weights and Measures

The four-fold classification of the trade articles clearly reveals that there was a class of articles which was to be weighed (*dharima*) by keeping on a weighing balance (*tulā*),[7] while the others were measured (*mejja*) by a measure (*māṇa*).[8]

1. The current reading in the present edition of the NC is जहा भिल्लमाले चम्मलातो (NC 3, p. 111). But in one of the Mss of the NC. the text runs जहा भिल्लमाले वम्मलातो, while the press copy of the NC prepared by Muni Punyavijaya reads as जहा भिल्लमाले धम्मलातो, which is quite unintelligible. It is difficult to decide any meaning with certainty. However, the first reading will show the existence of a leather coin, which has been mentioned in the *Bhāvabhāvanā* (pt. II, p 378, Bhavanagar, 1938) of Maladhāri Hemcandra also. On the basis of the second reading Muni Kalyāṇavijaya has suggested that it refers to the coins issued by king Vammalāta during the 7th century whose inscriptions are to be found near Vasantagagh --*Prabandha Pārijāta*, pp 18-19.
2. रूपमय वा नाणक भवति, यथा—भिल्लमाले द्रम्म: —*Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p 573.
3. कवड्डगा से दिज्जति—NC. 3, p. 111, *Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p. 573.
4. *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 43.
5. Watters, op. cit, I, p 178, Beal, op. cit, 1, pp 189–90, also II, p 43.
6. *Rās Mālā*, p. 45
7. धरिम—ज तुलाए धरिज्जति—NC. 1, p. 144.
8. मेज्ज—ज माणेणं पत्थगमातिणा मितिज्जति—Ibid.

Prastha[1] was a famous measure of the time which was popular as *kulava*[2] in the Magadha *visaya*. The king decided proper weight and measures (*māṇa*) for his kingdom and those transgressing the rules were liable to be punished.[3] The Vaniks, however, were clever in cheating the customers by using false weights (*kūḍatula*) and false measures (*kūḍamāṇa*).[4]

Banking and Loans

The banking facilities being not available in those days people either hoarded their money underground (*ṇihi ṇihāṇa*)[5] or deposited it with the Vaniks. Money thus deposited was called *ṇikkhevaga*,[6] and it was to be deposited after counting the money in the presence of a witness (*sakkhi*).[7] The system of depositing money with the Vaniks, however, was not very safe. Instances are to be found when the Vaniks appropriated the whole deposit (*ṇikkhevaga*),[8] and the poor depositors could not even lodge a complaint against them.

The Vaniks gave money to the people on loan (*ṛṇa*).[9] It was given after taking a written letter from the debtor in the presence of a witness or a surity (*sākṣī, pratibhū*).[10] A heavy interest was charged from the debtors which meant doubling

1. NC. 1, p. 144, NC 4, p. 331.
2. मगहाविसए पत्थो त्ति कुलवो ।—NC. 4, p 158
3. जहा रण्णो अप्पणो रज्जे ज माण प्रतिष्ठापित जो ततो माणातो अतिरेगमूल वा करेति सो अवराही डण्डिज्जति—NC 4, p. 331.
4. जं वाणियगा परस्स चक्खु वञ्चेऊण मप्पक करेति, कूडतुलकूडमाणेहि वा अवहरन्ति—NC. 1, p. 115.
5. णिधाण णिधी, णिहित स्थापित द्रविणजातमित्यर्थ —NC. 3, p 387
6. NC. 2, p 102.
7. NC. 3, p. 274 According to *Mitākṣarā*, *nikṣepas* were the deposits counted in the presence of the depository, while *nyāsas* were the deposits handed over in the absence of the head of the house.—Gopal, op cit , p. 177.
8. कि च जे वणियादयो लोगे णिक्खेवगं णिक्खित्तं लोभाभिभूता अवलवति—NC 1, p 102.
9. NC. 3, pp 263, 394
10. इह साक्षी प्रतिभू वा वाचा—NC.

the amount *(duguṇa)* every day.[1] The debtors being unable to repay the deb t were severely treated by the Vaṇiks, and physical pressure such as beating with whips and lashes was also used to receive the money back.[2] The debtors unable in repaying the debts were usually made to work as slaves.[3] Sometimes, however, the creditors relieved the debtors after receiving only the partial payment of the debt.[4]

1. NC. 3, p. 394, also p. 340.
2. झझडिया रिणे अदिज्जते वणिएहिं अणेगप्पगारेहिं दुव्वयणेहिं झडिया अंझडिया, लताकसादिएहिं वा झडिता—NC. 3, p. 270.
3. NC. 3, p 263. See supra—Slaves and Servants.
4. अद्धपदत्ते दाणेण तोसिएण धणिएण विसज्जितो, "पभु" त्ति धणितो, सव्वम्मि अदिन्ने तेण विसज्जितो पव्वाविज्जति—NC. 3, p 270.

CHAPTER-VI

EDUCATION, LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Life in the monasteries was indicative of the perpetual studenthood and the Jaina monks and nuns residing therein may be compared with the Naisthika Brahmacārins of the Vedic age[1] who had taken recourse to education for their spiritual salvation. The system of education thus revealed from the NC. is mainly the one as practised in the Jaina monasteries of the time although the Brāhmanic institutions like the Gurukulas have also been occasionally referred to.[2] Mention has also been made of the *Lehasālās*[3] or schools which mainly flourished as the centres of primary education. The existence of three distinct types of institutions, viz. Monastic schools (Jaina), Brāhmaṇic schools (Gurukulas) and the Lekhaśālās, is thus to be seen from the text.[4] Besides, the Buddhist universities like Nālandā and Valabhī of the time must have also been the prominent centres of learning, as can be judged from the contemporary accounts of Yuan Chwang[5]

1 They were the male and female students observing life long celibacy to devote their time entirely to religion and education for their spiritual salvation.—Altekar, A. S, *Education in Ancient India*, p 91

2. NC 3, pp 294, 412, 434.

3. NC 1, p 15

4. For details regarding these three types of institutions see—Dasgupta, D. C, *Jaina System of Education*, p. 8

5. Yuan Chwang, during his visit to Valabhī, noted that it had about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6000 Brethern adherents of the Hīnayāna Sammatiya school. He also refers to the famous Buddhist Ācārya Sthiramati Gunamati who resided outside the town.—Watters, op cit., II, p 246, Beal, op. cit., II, pp. 206, 268

and I-Tsing.[1] No such Buddhist institutions, however, have been mentioned in the text, those will be thus excluded from the following discussion. Below, an account is given of the salient features of the system of education as practised in the Jaina monasteries and other institutions, i. e. the Brāhmaṇic institutions and the *lekhaśālās* as reflected in the NC.

Jaina System of Education

Preceptor to impart education was thought as necessary entity for the spiritual enlightenment of the individual by the Jaina as well as the Brāhmanic authorities.[2] It was believed · "As the existing objects could not be seen in the absence of light, similarly the abstruse meaning of the scriptural texts could not be comprehended unless it was made to discern by an able preceptor."[3] "As a potter shaped different vessels out of the same clay, the preceptor by the dint of his spiritual insight was capable of imparting varied explanation to the scriptural texts",[4] and further "the entire study of the sacred lore depended on the preceptor."[5] The mere statement that "preceptor and parents are the greatest benefactors (*paramovakārin*)"[6] implies that towards the master the highest reverence was to be displayed by the pupil.

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1. I-Tsing observed "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years, generally in Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhī in Western India."—Takakusu, op cit, p 177.
2 *Praśamarati*, V 69, *Kathopaniṣad*, II. 9.
3 NC 4, p 30
4. जहा एगातो पिंडाओ कुलालो अणेगे घडादिरूवे घडेति एव आयरिओ एगाओ सुत्ताओ अणेगे अत्थविगप्पे द मेति ।—Ibid
5. आयरिमहाया सव्वगमा भवति जेण पढिज्जति—NC 4, p. 36
Cf Kapadia, H. R, "The Jaina System of Education", *JUB.*, Vol 8, 1939–40, pp 193–259
६. दुप्पडियरग जओ णिण्ह मातु पितु धम्मायरियस्स य—NC 3, p. 34, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 5, p. 1455 Compare *Viṣṇusmṛti* (31. 1-2) where the father, mother and preceptor are collectively styled as *atigurus* or supreme

Teachers and Their Qualifications

Ācārya (*āyariya*) was the senior-most authority in the Church and he was assisted by Upādhyāya (*uvajjhāya*) in his work of education of the monks.[1] He alone had the right to initiate the monks and was ultimately responsible for their maintenance of the code of conduct. Since the Ācārya held the highest office of the church, it demanded an ideal display of conduct. A standard of progress achieved in the spiritual field was a necessary must and caste or age was of no significance. Contrary to the Brāhmanic injunctions we here find a conglomeration of teachers belonging to the lower catses (*jātihīna*)[2] which sometimes resulted in the concealment of the names of such teachers by their ungrateful disciples.[3] Such disciples are mentioned as unworthy of being taught and are supposed to be divested of achieving higher bliss in the present life or the ones to come.[4] Even a king was to offer due regards to a teacher of the low caste if he desired to learn from him.[5]

To be fit for the position of an Ācārya, a monk was judged by his spiritual progress or the spiritual age. Physical or material age was insignificant. The old monks *(parinayavaya)* are sometimes seen as accepting the discipleship of the young Ācāryas *(taruṇāyariya)* who might be of the age of their sons or grandsons *(putta-ṇattua-samāṇa)*.[6] These young Ācāryas were

1 आयरियोवज्झाया दुविहा दिसा साहूणं ।—NC 3, p 35.
2. सो आयरिआ बहुस्सुओ जातिहीणा—NC 3, p. 4
भदत चेव भणंति—तुम जातिहीणो त्ति—NC 3, p 2.
3. तेण य जस्स सगासे सिक्खिय सो य...जच्चादिसु वा हीणतरो । अतो तेण लज्जति ।—NC 1, p. 12
4. तायणायरिय गिण्हवेंतस्स इहपरलोए य णत्थिकल्लाण—Ibid
5. Ibid
6. काति सेहो परिणयवओ तरुणायरियस्स समीवे पव्वतितुकामो अण्णेण भण्णति—"डहरो एस तव गुरु तुम च परिणयवओ, णेस आयरिय सीससंजोगो जुज्जति, कह पुत्त-णत्तुअ-समाणस्स सीसो भविस्ससि ?—NC 3, p. 35.

sometimes sarcastically called *dahara* (small child)[1] by the opponent Ācāryas. Describing the various classes of the Buddhist teachers I-Tsing also mentions one as *Cha-ga-ra*, i. e. *ḍahara*, which has been translated as a small teacher.[2] Caste or age was thus insignificant factor for holding the office of an Ācārya in the Buddhist and Jaina order.

Apart from the spiritual and moral qualifications, the Ācārya was required to be well-versed in scriptures, and a good exponent of the texts of his own sect and those of others.[3] The Sūtras he had learnt by heart and was at a stage where he understood their meaning. Practical knowledge he acquired by extensive visits to the various regions. Instances have been brought to the notice where the Ācāryas aspiring for higher stages of spiritual plane handed over their disciples to the other Ācāryas and themselves took up the discipleship a s students once again.[4]

Students

Caste or creed was no bar for a student to get admission to Jaina Church. A conglomeration of students from all walks of life was thus to be found.[5] Basically a high moral standard was desired of the students. Only deserving (*pātta*) ones were to be taught and the Ācārya teaching an unworthy (*apātta*) student was severely condemned for displaying wrong sense of judgement towards the selection of his pupils.[6] The following were considered as unworthy students (*apātta*) : "a babbler or one who grumbles over petty things (*timtiṇiya*), a fickle-minded person (*calacitta*), one who changes his Ācārya or Gaṇa frequently (*gāṇamgaṇiya*), one of low moral

1. Ibid
2. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 104.
3. आयरिओ स्वपरसिद्ध तपरूवगो—NC. 1, p. 22.
4. आयरियादि णाणनिमित्त उवसंपज्जति—NC.4, p. 96.
5. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 2.
6. NC. 4, p. 261.

character (*dubbalacaritta*), one who speaks ill of his Ācārya (*āyariya-paribhāsī*), one who goes against the instructions of his Guru or Ācārya (*vāmāvatta*), one who is a backbiter (*pisuṇa*),[1] one who is not devoted,[2] and the one who hides the name of his Ācārya."[3]

Pātra (worthy), on the other hand, did not possess the drawbacks mentioned in case of the unworthy student (*apātta*).[4] The master was duty-bound to teach the deserving students without any distinction or prejudice.[5] An Ācārya was refrained from witholding any knowledge from a *pātra* and was subjected to severe criticism if he did so.[6] Code of conduct as prescribed by the teacher was to be strictly followed by the student after being initiated to the Jaina Church. The disciple was always to occupy a seat lower than his Ācārya,[7] serve him personally, e. g. carrying the Ācārya's broom or stick,[8] always addressing him with folded hands and touching his feet.[9] The Ācārya, on the other hand, was required to guide the disciple on the right times regarding his code of conduct and was liable to be punished if he failed in his duty to guide his disciple.[10]

Routine for Study

Monks were to pursue their studies at proper time. It was believed that studies conducted at an appropriate hour of the day lead to the knowledge required for salvation,[11] otherwise

1. NC 4, pp 255-61, also *N Bhā* 6198.
2 NC 4, p 259.
3 NC. 4, p 260.
4. जे एते नितिणिगादी अपत्ता, एतेसि पडिपक्खभूता सव्वे पात्राणि—NC. 4, p 261
5 NC 4, pp 263-64.
6 NC 4, pp 261-62
7. NC 1, p 9.
8 NC 1, p 10.
9 NC 4, p 88.
10. अणीय अचोदेतस्स गुरुस्स पच्छित्त—NC. 3, p 45.
11. तहा णाण पि काले अहिज्जमाण णिज्जराहेऊ भवति—NC 1, p. 7.

it was itself a cause of bondage. Among the Jaina scriptures, the Kālika Śruta (Kālıya-suya) was meant to be studied during the first and the last *porisī* (Skt. *prahara*—the eighth section of the day) of day and night[1], while the Ukkālıka (Ukkāliya) could be studied at anytime except the *kālavelā*[2] (the time when the studies were not to be pursued).[3] In the study of the Kālika Śruta also the first *porisī* was reserved for learning the Sūtras and was known as *sutta-porısī*, while the meaning of the Sūtras was to be learnt during the *attha-porisī*.[4] The scriptural study of the Jaina monks thus amounted to three hours during day and night, and the monks in normal circumstances had to conduct their studies at the prescribed hours. During the unusual circumstances, however, the studies of the Jaina monks were to be suspended, and those conducting the studies during the time of suspension (*asajjhāya-asvādhyāya*)[5] were subjected to severe punishment.

Curriculum and Existing Literature of the Jainas

The curriculum mainly consisted of the Jaina scriptures although the subjects like grammar, mathematics, astrology, astronomy, logic, the science of omens (*nimitta-śāstra*) etc. were invariably taught in the Jaina as well as the Brāhmaṇic institutions of the time. The Jaina Ācāryas, as noted before, were the masters of the scriptural texts of their own religion and also those of the others.[6] Frequent observations are noticeable in which the householders accept to give shelter to the Jaina monks on condition that the subjects like astrology (*joisa*), the science of omens (*nımıtta*), prosody (*chamda*),

1 NC 4, p. 228
2. उक्कालिय सव्वासु पोरुसीसु कालवेलं मोत्तु —NC. 1, p. 7.
3. कालवेला–क्रियानर्ह कालविशेष:—*Sabda-kalpa-druma*, p 110, *Abhidhāna Rājendra Kośa*, Vol. III, p. 493.
4 NC. 1, p. 6, also NC. 1, p. 37.
5. For rules regarding *asvādhyāya* see—NC. 4, pp 224-48.
6. NC. 1, p. 21

mathematics (*gaṇiya*), grammar (*vāgaraṇa*) and the art of writing would be taught by them.[1] There is an instance when a monk requests his Ācārya to explain him the *Chedasūtras*, for he had forgotten the portion of the *Chedasūtras* being involved in the study of grammar (*sadda, vāgaraṇa*) and the Hetuśāstra of Aksapāda, i. e. the Nyāya system of Indian philosophy.[2] The accounts of Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing also reveal that these various sciences were widely mastered by the Jainas, the Brāhmins and the Buddhists of the time.[3] According to Dasgupta, the monastic university of the Jainas had three sections—Jaina scriptures, Vedic study and Arts.[4] It is, however, beyond cognition as to how the latter two were imparted to the students in the Jaina monastic universities.

Curriculum in the Jaina monasteries depended on the specific period of initiation (*dīksā-paryāya*). The NC. does not enlighten us on the curriculum followed at a particular stage It only mentions that the advanced texts of the canon (*uvarilla*) were to be taught after the monks had mastered the primary texts (*hetthilla*).[5] The rules of the monastic life, which comprised the initial part of the canon, was taught first and the texts dealing with the exception to rules (*avavāda*) were disclosed to a monk only after he had reached a certain stage of development in the spiritual field.[6]

Āyāra, the first *Anga* of the Jaina canon, consisted of the nine *ajjhayaṇas*, each known as *Bambhacera* and was appended with

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1. जति जोइस निमित्त छद गणिय वा अम्ह कहेस्सह'''अण्ण वा कि चि पावसुत्तं वागरणादि– NC. 4, p 36
2. सद्दे त्ति व्याकरण, हेतुमत्थ अक्खपादादि, एवमादि अहिज्जतो छेदसुत्तं णिसीहादि णट्ठ– NC 4, p 88
3 According to Yuan Chwang, children at the age of seven were regularly taught five sciences among the Buddhists, viz. Science of grammar, skilled professions, astrology, medicine and the sicnece of eternal.— Watters, op. cit., 1, pp 154-55, Beal, op. cit., 1, pp 78-79.
4 Dasgupta, op cit , p. 15
5. NC 4, p. 252
6. हेट्ठिल्ला उस्सग्गसुता तेहिं अभाविस्स उवरिल्ला अववादसुया ते ण—Ibid.

five *Cūlās*.[1] Of these the *Āyāra* along with the first four *Cūlās* could be taught at anytime, but the fifth one, i. e. *Āyārakappa* or *Nisītha*, was to be taught only after three years of initiation to the monkhood.[2] This rule was effective for all the *Chedasūtras*. It can be thus deduced that the monks have mastered the *Āyāra* and its first four *Cūlās* during the first three years of their initiation.

Among the other scriptural texts the *Dasaveyāliya* was to be taught after the monk had mastered the *Āvassaga* and the *Uttarājjhayaṇa* after learing the *Dasaveyāliya*.[3] This rule also implied in case of the various sections like *aṁga*, *suyakhaṁdha*, *ajjhayaṇa* and *uddesaga* of a particular text, the method of teaching being the one in which the former preceded the latter.[4] The texts dealing with *caraṇānuyoga* (i. e. *Kāliya-suya* or the eleven *Angas*), *dharmānuyoga* (*Isibhāsiya* etc.), *gaṇiyānuyoga* (*Sūrapannatti* etc.) and *dravyānuyoga* (*Diṭṭhivāya*) were also to be taught in the manner stated above.[5] Apparently the Jaina Ācāryas and the monks residing in the monasteries during these centuries were so intimately aware of the curriculum[6] that the author considered it insignificant to give specific details of the texts which were to be studied at a particular stage.

1 NC 1, p. 2.
2. NC. 1, p. 3.
3. जहा दसवेयालिस्सावस्सग हेट्ठिल्लं, उत्तरज्झयणाण दमवेयालियं हेट्ठिल्लं, एव णेयं— NC. 4, p 252
4 Ibid.
5 NC. 4, p 253.
6. Some of the Jaina texts specifically prescribe the curriculum which was to be followed at a specific stage. In all a period of twenty years was required for becoming a *Śrutajñānī* or *Śrutakevalin* and the scriptural study of the monk was to start after a period of three years of his initiation. According to *Vidhimārgaprapā* (p. 48) of Ācārya Jinaprabha Sūri (1306 A.D), a monk was to be taught *Āyārapakappa* after three years of his initiation, *Sūyagaḍa* was to be taught during the 4th, *Dasā*, *Kappa* and *Vavahāra* in the 5th, *Ṭhāṇa* and *Samavāya* in the 8th, *Bhagavaī* in the 10th, *Khuḍḍiyāvimāṇa* etc. in the 11th,

Method of Education

Education imparted to the monks was called *sikkhā* and it was to be acquired by a laborious process. Education of the monks was two-fold: (i) *gahaṇa-sikkhā* and (ii) *āsevaṇa-sikkhā*.[1] In the commentary on the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya* (p. 9, v. 7) by Maladhārī Hemacandra the *gahaṇa-sikkhā* is explained as the study of the Sūtras or committing them to memory (*gahana*).[2] This was followed by the study of its *artha* (meaning) for a period of twelve years.[3] The education was considered complete only when the monk had understood the Sūtras thoroughly.

Five-fold Study

For a thorough understanding and retention of the scriptural lore to memory, a five-fold system of study (*sajjhāya*[4]—*svādhyāya*) was practised by the Jainas. These were. (i) *vāyaṇā*—teaching of the text by an Ācārya or learning one's lesson, (ii) *pucchaṇā*—questioning the teacher in order to clear one's doubts, (iii) *pariyaṭṭaṇā*—repetition, (iv) *anuppehā*—meditation or thinking intently and (v) *dhammakahā*—religious discourses or imparting religious sermons.[5]

Aruṇovavāya etc in the 12th, *Uṭṭhāṇasuya* etc in the 13th, *Āsīvisabhāvaṇā*, *Diṭṭhivisabhāvaṇā*, *Cāraṇabhāvaṇā*, *Mahāsuminabhāvaṇā* and *Teyanisagga* from 14th to 18th and *Diṭṭhivāya* in the 19th, and thus the monk mastered the whole canon in a period lasting over twenty years —Vide, *Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihāsa*, Vol 1, intro pp 38-39

1. सा सिक्खा दुविहाआसेवणसिक्खा गहणसिक्खा य ।—NC 3, p 251 ; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 257

2. तत्र द्वादश वर्षाणि यावत सूत्र त्वयाऽध्येतव्यमित्युपदेशो ग्रहणशिक्षा, आसेवनाशिक्षा तु प्रत्युपेक्षणादिक्रियोपदेश. ।

3 Ibid.

4. NC. 1, p. 18, *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, IX. 25, Umāsvāti's Bhāsya 1, p. 259

5. सज्झाएत्ति वायणा पुच्छणा परियट्टणा अणुप्पेहा धम्मकहा य—NC. 1, p. 18.

Method of Oral Transmission

From the above mentioned method of two-fold education (*sikkhā*) and five-fold study (*sajjhāya*), it may be deduced that the monks after finishing their education must have orally transmitted their sacred lore down the generations. The art of writing (*livi*) was not unknown but it was never allowed or appreciated as far as the religious lore was concerned. The frequent use of the word *vāyaṇā* (Skt *vācanā*—lecture)[1] and the class of teachers known as *vāyaṇā-yariya* (those who give lectures)[2] also justify to the same fact. The monks are mentioned as becoming learned (*bahussuya*) by listening to the sermons imparted by the Guru.[3] The Ācāryas can be seen getting tired after giving lectures to their disciples.[4] Various references in the text and the contemporary accounts of Yuan Chwang[5] and I-Tsing[6] confirm to the fact that the method of oral transmission was practised in the Jaina, Brāhmanic as well as the Buddhist institutions of the time [7]

Writing and Books

The system of oral transmission prevailed in case of the sacred lore, but the art of writing (*livi*) was freely used for

1. Ibid
2. NC. 1, p 12
3. सो य सुणेत्ता बहुस्सुओ जाओ—NC 4, p. 88.
4. आयरिओ वायणापरिस्सतो—NC 1, p 11
5. Describing the activities of the great Brâhmana teachers Yuan Chwang remarks : "when disciples intelligent and accute are addicted to idle shirking the teachers doggedly perserved repeating instruction until their training is finished" (Watters, op cit , I p 160) Stress on repetition of instruction noted by Yuan Chwang suggests that oral system of imparting knowledge was predominant (Saletor, R. N., *Life in the Gupta Age*, p 100).
6. Regarding the Brâhmanic practice of imparting knowledge I-Tsing remarks "In India there are two traditional ways in which one can attain great intellectual power. Firstly by repeatedly committing to memory the intellect is developed, secondly the alphabets fixed one's ideas."—Takakasu, op. cit., pp 182-83.
7. Kapadia, op. cit., p. 222.

secular purposes. Frequently we find the royal charters being reduced to writing[1] and the young men and women writing love letters to convery their feelings.[2] In spite of these injunctions,[3] expansion of the canon and a degeneration in the retentive capacities during the later centuries forced the Jaina Church to allow the monks to keep the manuscripts for the preservation of their sacred lore. The NC. clearly allows the Jaina preceptors and monks to keep any of the five varieties of the books (*potthagapanaga*) or manuscripts pertaining to the *Kāliya-suya* in case they were incapable of remembering (*gahana*) and retaining (*dhāranā*) the whole scriptural lore.[4]

The following five kinds of books have been mentioned in the NC. (i) *ganḍīpotthaga* or books square (*cauramsa*) in shape, (ii) *kacchavī* or those wide at the centre and tapering at the ends, (iii) *mutthī* or books square (*cauramsa*) or circular (*vrtta*) in form and four fingers in length, (iv) *sampudaphalaga* or books made by stitching the leaves at the centre and (v) *chevādī* or those made with thin leaves (*tanupatta*) which were longer in length and smaller in breadth.[5] A general use of these books was not allowed to the Jaina monks on the ground that they easily gave rise to the killing of small insects and thus went against their vow of non-killing (*ahimsā*).[6] It is, however,clear that these books were kept by the Jaina Ācāryas and monks, especially the higher works of the canon, although their knowledge was orally imparted to the students

Special Facilities for Higher Studies

Due attention was paid by the monasteries to enrich and enhance the knowledge of the students with a view to

1. NC 4, p. 10
2. NC 2, pp. 385 86.
3. See—*N. Bhā.* 3999 (NC 3, p 320)
4. मेहाउ गहणधारणादिपरिहाणि जाणिऊण कालिसुयट्ठा कालियसुयणिज्जुत्तिणिमित्तं वा पोत्थगपणग घेप्पति—NC 3, p. 324.
5. NC. 3, pp 320-21; NC. 2, p. 193, *Bṛh Vṛ.* 4, p 1054.
6. "झुसिरो" त्ति पोत्थगो ण घेत्तव्वो, जिणेहि तत्थ बहुजीवोवघातो दिट्ठो—NC. 3, p 321.

preserve the distinguished works from becoming extinct.[1] The author firmly believes that after learning from one's own Ācārya, the monk should accept the discipleship of the other Ācārya of the same region and ultimately proceed to visit the other regions for the sake of higher learning. Sometimes the Ācāryas themselves not being well-versed in a particular branch of knowledge used to send their disciples to another Ācārya who was more versed in that particular branch of knowledge.[2]

Monks aspiring to master the difficult texts like the *Hetusattha* or *Govimdaṇijjutti* are seen accepting the discipleship of the other Ācāryas.[3] While engaged in the study of the distinguished works like *Sammadi*[4] or *Siddhviṇicchiya*,[5] which glorified the philosophy of the Jainas (*damsaṇa-pabhāvaga-sattha*), monks were allowed to deviate in exceptional cases and were not subjected to any expiatory penances for deviating from the general rules.[6] They were even allowed to go to a *verajja* (*vairājya*) in order to acquire the knowledge of these *daṁsana-pabhāvaga-satthas* from an Ācārya who was well-versed in such distinguished works.[7] It is evident that the monastic authorities were very keen to ensure that all possible facilities were provided to the monks studying the works of high order.[8]

1. मा त मुत्तत्थ वोच्छिज्जतु त्ति—NC. 3, p 202.
2. NC. 4, p 75
3. हेतुसत्थ-गोविदणिज्जुत्तादियट्ठा उवसंपज्जति—NC. 4, p 96.
4. NC 3, p 202, NC 1, p. 162 *Sammadi* mentioned in the NC is same as the *Sanmatitarka-prakarana*, a book on logic written by Siddhasena Divākara in the 6th century A D —See infra, Jaina Literature.
5. NC. 1, p. 162. Akalanka (c 625-75 A.D.) has also written a book named *Siddhiviniścaya* But, according to certain scholars, *Siddhiviniścaya* mentioned in the NC is different from the *Siddhiviniścaya* of Akalanka and was written by Ācārya Śivaswāmi —See *Siddhiviniścaya*, introduction, p 53, *Sanmatitarka*, introduction, p 4.
6. दमणपभावगाणि सत्थाणि सिद्धिविणिच्छिय-सम्मतिमादिगेण्हतो असंथरमाणो जं अकप्पियं पडिसेवति—NC 1, p. 162.
7. अतो तग्गहणट्ठयाए कप्पति वेरज्जविरुद्धं सकमणं काउं—NC. 3, p. 202.
8. Kapadia, op cit., p. 244.

Vāda or Debates

The ability of a Jaina monk was tested in the active religious disputations or tournaments which were a constant feature of the literary life of the day. The highest aspiration of a monk was to be bestowed with the title of Vādian[1] which was bestowed on a monk who came out successfully in a literary affray where he was to defend his own religion from the active onslaughts of the rivals.[2] *Vāda* or debates were usually conducted before an assembly of the learned scholars (*Vādi-pariṣad*) and were presided over by the king or the Mahājanas of the state.[3] A story narrated in the NC. mentions a Jaina monk to have defeated his Buddhist opponent in a literary affray held in the king's court.[4] Very often the contestants to these debates tried to influence the king or the state-authorities to gain their support.[5] The Jaina monks while going for a contest in the *Vādi-pariṣad* were allowed to take bath and wear pure white clothes so as to keep up the prestige of their preceptor and faith [6] The individuals defeated in *Vāda* were usually made to accept the discipleship of the rival victor, while the king mostly patronised the faith of the victor being influenced by his religious tenets.[7] Sometimes, however, the defeated monks accepted the discipleship of the rival with a view to grasp the inlets of his teachings *(siddhānta harana)* and later defeated him in an open contest.[8] The tradition of conducting the religious

1. वादी वायलद्धि-संपण्णो अजेओ—NC 1, p 22.
2. परवादिणा वा सद्धिं वादं करेंति—NC 3, p 37.
3. जे तत्थ पंडिया वादिपरिसं च गेण्हति···ते रण्णो महाजणस्स वा पुरतो णिरुत्तरे करेति—NC. 4, p 88.
4. NC 3, p 325
5. NC 2, p 233.
6. वादिनो वादिपर्षदं गच्छतो—आचार्यस्य अतिशयमिति कृत्वा देसस्नानं सर्वस्नानं वा—NC. 2, p 86.
7. NC 3, p 325.
8. In this context example is cited of the Govinda Vācaka or Govinda Ajja, the famous author of *Govindaniyjutti*, who after being defeated

disputations is largely supported by the contemporary sources. Yuan Chwang[1] as well as I-Tsing[2] emphatically speak of such fiery affrays where the Buddhists, the Brāhmins and the Jainas all tried to prove the superiority of their own faith. King Śilāditya of Valabhī is also mentioned to have presided over one such literary affray held between Mallavādin and Buddhananda.[3]

Keeping in view the above factors it can be concluded that the aim of education in the Jaina monasteries during these centuries were directed to produce scholarly monks with keen forensic power who could expound the tenets of their faith with a view to prove its supremacy before the rulers of the state and the public.

Brāhmaṇic Institutions : Education in the Gurukulas

A detailed account of the Brāhmanic institutions is not available from the text, yet a few references in the text reveal them to be the most prominent agencies of learning among the non-Jaina sections of society. Apart from the individual Brāhmana teachers who imparted the sacred lore to the younger generation, there also existed the Brāhmaṇic institutions known as Gurukulas.[4] Similar to the Jaina monasteries the students of these institutions were to stay with their preceptor (*gurukulavāsa*)[5] for a number of years for acquiring the sacred lore and an ideal conduct.[6]

eighteen times in a debating contest accepted the discipleship of his rival for being able to understand his tenets.—NC 4, pp 265-66.

1. Yuan Chwang noted that during such debating contests "the tenets of these schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high."—Watters, op. cit , I, p. 162
2. I-Tsing describes the House of debate where the literary tournaments were held. He further remarks that those who emerge victorious the sound of their fame makes the five mountains of India vibrate and their renown flows, as it were over the four borders.—Takakusu, op. cit , p 178.
3. Kapadia, op cit , p. 246
4. NC 3, pp. 294, 412, 434.
5. NC 3, p. 412; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 26
6. "सूतेति"—आत्मनो क्रियाचरितेन गुरोः क्रियाचरित ज्ञापयतीत्यर्थः—NC. 3, p. 412.

Some of the Gurukulas were renowned for their high standard of learning *(visittha-gurukula)* and the students trained at such centres were thought to have been the infallible masters in performing the sacrificial rites.[1] Bāṇa also informs us that "besides mastery in the *Vedas*, the student had to display earnestness in learning the art of sacrifice."[2]

The Vedic studies during this time must have comprised the fourteen *vijjās*, as a learned Brāhmana is mentioned to have mastered the fourteen *vijjās*.[3] The fourteen *vidyās* have been frequently referred to in the contemporary literature.[4] The *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇī* enumerates them as the four *Vedas*, six *Vedāngas*, *Mīmāṁsā*, *Nyāya*, *Purāna* and *Dharmaśāstra*.[5] The Brāhmanic law-givers also describe the same fourteen *vidyās*.[6] Apart from this scriptural lore, the other subjects would also have been taught to the students in the Brāhmanic institutions. The NC., however, does not enlighten us regarding the nature of their studies.

Lehasālā (Lekhaśālā)

Apart from the Jaina and Brāhmanic institutions, the existence of the Lehasālās (*lekhaśālās*)[7] is also revealed from the text which must have imparted primary education to the children. The Lehasālās were usually situated in the vicinity of the houses or village from where the students could come home to take their meals during the recess *(bhoyanakāla)*.[8]

1. अवितह पुण किरियं करेंतो णज्जति जहा—"विसिट्ठे गुरुकुले वासिओ वा सिक्खिओ वा—NC. 3, p. 412
2. *Harṣacarita*, p 11
3. एगो य मरुगो चोद्दसविज्जाट्ठाणपारगो—NC. 3, p 92
4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, v 21.
5. *Uttarādhyayana Cūrṇi* 3, p 596.
6. See—Upadhyay, B. S , *India in Kālidāsa*, p 274.
7. दोवि लेहसालाए पढति—NC 1, p. 15. This type of institution has been mentioned as Arts schools or Writing-schools by Dasgupta —Op cit., p. 13.
8. भोयणकाले आगताण दोण्ह वि—NC. 1, p. 15

The commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* explains the Lekhaśālā as Dārakaśālā or schools where the children *(dārakāḥ)* studied during the day time.[1] The *Lekhaśālās* or *liviśālas* have been mentioned in the various Jaina and Buddhist texts. The teachers in these schools were known as *Dārakācārya* or *Lehāvariya*.[2]

Mention of the phrase 'grasping the alphabets like a child'[3] in the text perhaps points towards the ceremony of learning the alphabets (*akṣarasvīkaraṇa*) which was by now exalted to the status of a ritual and was performed at the age of five or six.[4]

It is nowhere specifically stated as to what formed the curriculum in these primary institutions. Elementary knowledge of the subjects, however, must have been imparted to the students. Mention has been made of the seventy-two arts beginning with writing (*leha*) and ending with the 'notes of birds' (*saunaruya*), which constituted the field of education.[5] The early Jaina and Buddhist texts specifically describe these 72 Arts to have been mastered by princes and heroes like Mahāvīra, Buddha, prince Meha, the son of Seniya Bimbisāra, Goyama and the prince of Bāravai, in such

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1. दारका —बालकास्ते यत्र दिवसतः पठन्ति सा दारकशाला लेखशालेत्यर्थः—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p 829
2. *Lalitavistara*, Ch. X, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p 199. See also—Altekar, op. cit, p 178
3. डिंभ त्ति डिभरूव त अक्खरे गाहिस्सइ—NC. 4, p. 36, *Bṛh. Vṛ* 4, p. 437
4. Altekar, op. cit , pp. 265-68.
5. लेहादिया सउणरूयपज्जवसाणा बावत्तरि कलाओ विज्जा—NC. 3, p. 272; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, p 79 Two different lists of the 72 arts are found in the Jaina texts, one beginning with writing (*leha*) and ending with the Bird's cries (*saunaruya*), as is to be found in the *Aṁtagaḍadasāo* and *Anuttarovavāiyadasāo* (tr by L D. Barnett, pp. 30-31) and the other may be seen in the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara which starts with writing and ends with the rule of Kevalins (*Prabandhakośa*, vol 1, p 28, see also—Dasgupta, op. cit , p 75). The author of the NC. evidently follows the first tradition which starts from writing and ends with the notes of birds, or bird's cries

primary institutions.[1] Mention of these 72 Arts in our text seems to be traditional,[2] although most of these arts like writing, arithmatic, dancing, music, instrumental music etc. were regularly practised by men and women in society.

Literature

The existing literature as revealed from the NC. may be divided into two groups—(i) religious literature and (ii) secular literature. The former again may be classified under two sections. (i) Jaina literature and (ii) Brāhmanic literature which includes the ancient Vedic literature also.

Jaina Literature

It is a well-known fact that the first redaction of the Jaina canon had taken place in the Valabhī council held under the presidentship of Devardhi Gaṇi Ksamāśramana in 513 or 526 A. D. (V. E. 980 or 993).[3] The Jaina canon during this time consisted of the twelve *Angas*, twelve *Upāngas*, ten *Prakīrnakas*, six *Chedasūtras*, *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra*, and four *Mūlasūtras*. The author being a learned Jaina preceptor is well-versed in the canon from where he widely quotes A detailed discussion on the various passages cited from these works is not possible, and it will suffice to say that among the *Angas* the *Āyāra*,[4] *Sūyagada*,[5] *Bhagavaī*,[6] *Paṇhavā-*

1. The teachers of Arts trained prince Meha and taught him 72 Arts. —*Ardhamagadhi Reader* (tr by Banarasi Das Jaina), p. 101, *Amtagaḍadasāo* and *Anuttarovavāiyadasāo* (tr by Barnett, pp 30-31). The Jātakas refer to 72 Arts which were mastered by Lord Buddha. —Dasgupta, op cit., p. 4
2. According to Dasgupta (op. cit , p 5), "it was customary with the princes to receive their education in the arts or secular schools where the curriculum included 72 Arts."
3. LAI., p 33
4. NC. 3, p. 122.
5. NC 1, p 35, NC. 4, pp. 252, 264.
6. NC. 1, pp 33, 79, NC. 2, p. 232.

garaṇa[1] and *Diṭṭhivāya*,[2] among the *Upāṅgas Sūrapaṇṇatti*,[3] *Caṁdapaṇṇatti* and *Jambūdīvapaṇṇatti*,[4] and among the *Prakīrṇakas Taṁdulaveyāliya* and *Caṁdavejjhaga*[5] have been specifically mentioned in the text.

Apart from *Nisīha* the other four *Chedasūtras*, i. e. *Dasā*, *Kappa*, *Vavahāra* and *Mahāṇisīha*[6] have been mentioned, while no mention is made of the 6th *Chedasūtra*. The four *Mūlasūtras*, i. e. *Uttarajjhayaṇa*,[7] *Āvassaya*,[8] *Dasaveyāliya*[9] and *Piṇḍaṇijjutti*[10] or *Ohaṇijjutti*,[11] and the individual texts like *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra*[12] have been referred to. Mention has also been made of the *Mahākappa-sutta* as a work of very high order,the monks studying which could resort to exceptions to the rules.[13] "This was probably a *Cheyasutta*, but on that account it is not possible to identify it with any of the six well-known *Cheyasuttas*."[14]

Besides the canonical literature, the other texts like *Joṇipāhuda*,[15] *Joṇisaṁgaha*,[16] *Govimdaṇijjutti*[17] and *Samāiyaṇijjutti*[18] have also been mentioned. The *Sammati* or *Sammadi*[19] and

1. NC 3, p 83
2 NC 1, p 4, NC. 3, p 63, NC 4, pp 226, 253.
3 NC 1, p 31, NC 4, pp. 253, 278
4. NC 1, p 31.
5 NC. 4, p 235.
6 NC 4, p. 304
7 NC. 2, p. 238, NC 4, p. 252
8 NC 2, p 33; NC 4, pp 73, 103.
9. NC 1, p 218; NC 2, p 80; NC. 3, p. 280, NC 4, pp 252, 254.
10 NC 1, pp 132, 155, NC. 2, p 249
11 NC. 2, p. 439, NC. 3, pp. 40, 449, 450, 461.
12. NC 4, p. 235
13. NC 2, p. 238, NC. 4, pp 96, 224.
14. Kapadia, H R., *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p 102
15. NC 2, p. 281; NC 3, p. 111.
16. NC. 3, p. 266.
17. NC. 3, pp 212, 260; NC. 4, p. 98.
18. NC. 4, p. 103.
19 NC. 1, p 162; NC. 3, p 202

Siddhiviṇicchiya[1] are mentioned as texts which glorified the religion and philosophy of the Jainas. The *Sammati* mentioned in the NC. is the same as *Sanmatisūtra*, also known as *Sanmatitarka* or *Sanmatiprakaraṇa* composed by Ācārya Siddhasena Divākara in circa 550-600 A. D.[2] It was a famous philosophical treatise which afforded a comparative study of the different Brāhmanic and Buddhist systems of philosophy and their criticism from the Jaina point of view.[3]

A controversy exists regarding the authorship of the *Siddhiviṇicchiya*. According to certain scholars, it should be identified with *Siddhiviniścaya*, the famous treatise composed by Akalaṅka. Its mention in the *Niśītha Cūrni* (A. D 676) has been taken by these scholars as a deciding factor for determining the date of Akalaṅka.[4] According to others, *Siddhiviṇicchiya* mentioned in the NC. was a composition of Ācārya Śivaswāmi, and was different from the *Siddhiviniścaya* of Akalaṅka.[5] It is, however, difficult to reach at any conclusion in the absence of proper evidences

Brāhmaṇic Literature

Vedas or Śruti—The ancient Vedic literature has been mentioned as *Śruti* or revealed literature.[6] It must have comprised the four *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The learned Brāhmanas are described to have been versed in the four *Vedas* (*cāuvejja*), and they had grasped the abstruse meaning of the *Vedas* (*Vedarahassa*).[7] Bāna,[8] Yuan Chwang as well as I-Tsing[9] also say that a regular impartation

1 NC 1, p 162.

2 See—*Sanmatiprakaraṇa*, Jñānodaya Trust, Ahmedabad

3 Jain, J. P, *Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp. 164-66.

4. Ibid., p 177

5 See—*Sanmatiprakaraṇa*, preface p. 4, *Siddhiviṇicchiya*, preface p 53.

6 NC 3, p 413; NC. 1, p 103

7 NC 3, p. 527.

8. *Harṣacarita*, p 71.

9. Watters, op cit, I, p. 159, Beal, op. cit, 1, p. 79, see also—Watters' remark on Yuan Chwang's account, pp 157-61. Although Yuan

of the Vedic knowledge was made to the Brāhmins. In the contemporary inscriptions of the Maitraka rulers the Brāhmins are mentioned to have been the students of the different *Vedas* like the *Sāmaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*.[1] King Śilāditya VII is also mentioned as *jñāna-trayī*, i.e. one who possesses the knowledge of three *Vedas*.[2] Of the *Upavedas*, the *Dhanurveda* (science of archery)[3] and the *Āyurveda* (science of medicine) were prominent.[4]

Vedāngas—Among the *Vedāngas vāgaraṇa* (grammar) and *joisa* (astrology and astronomy) were the most popular. The science of grammar (*vāgaraṇa*,[5] *sadda*[6]) must have been mastered by all the sects alike. Although it has been mentioned as *pāvasutta*[7] by our Jaina author, yet the various references in the text reveal a thorough mastery of the Jaina monks over the science of grammar. Differences of opinion regarding the various sūtras or grammatical rules have been cited in the text.[8] Bāṇa,[9] Yuan Chwang[10] and I-Tsing[11] all put a great stress on the science of grammar without which learning was of no account. A contemporary inscription from Valabhī also speaks of king Dhruvasena II as 'one versed in the grammar of Pāṇini'.[12]

Chwang clearly states that the Brāhmanas learn 4 *Veda* treatises, yet his account of the *Vedas* and the topics they deal with is quite erroneous and confused. I-Tsing remarks · "Scriptures they rever are the four *Vedas* "—Takakusu, op. cit., p. 182.

1 EI XI, p 112, IA. VII, p 68

2 "Alina Copper plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII," CII III, pp. 171 ff

3. धणुवेदादिएसु सत्थेसु जेण सिक्खाकरण—NC. 3, p 203.

4. NC 2, p. 272.

5 NC 4, p 36.

6. सद्दे त्ति व्याकरणं—NC. 4, p. 88; NC 1, p. 12.

7. अण्ण वा किं चि पावसुत्त वागरणादि—NC 4, p. 36.

8 NC. 1, p 43

9 *Harśacarita*, p 71.

10. Watters, op cit., 1, pp 154-55, Beal, op. cit., 1, pp. 78-79

11. Takakusu, op. cit., p 178.

12. CII. III, pp 171 ff

Joisa or *Jotisa* (*Astrology and Astronomy*)[1]—It was of great practical importance to all the sects alike as the auspicious ceremonies were to be performed only at a time when the omens and portents were auspicious. *Vivāhapaḍala*[2] and *Agghakada*[3] are mentioned as treatises on astrology (*jotisagamtha*). The former explained proper time for conducting the marriages, while the latter revealed the proper time for entering into enterprises like trade and commerce. *Chamda* or prosody is specifically mentioned.[4] Besides, a great stress on *pada*, *mātrā*, *bindu* etc. in the proper recitation of the Vedic as well as Jaina scriptural lore[5] and the innumerable etymological derivations of the words mentioned in the text reveal the popularity of the other *Vedāngas*, i. e. *sikṣā* (pronunciation) and *nirukta* (etymology).

Smrti Literature—The later literature of the Brāhmaṇas has been mentioned as *Smrtis*[6] which was especially mastered by them for learning the proper rules of the science of sacrifice (*homa*). Although none of the *Smṛtis* is specifically named in the text, yet some of the statements of the author, especially regarding the six duties of the Brāhmanas (*sadkarma-nirata*)[7] etc. are directly based on the *Smrti* of Manu.

Epics—The great epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāraha* (*Mahābhārata*) have been referred to as *pāvasutta*[8] the study of which was prohibited to a Jaina monk Validity of the various mythological stories of the Epics and the *Purānas* has been critically questioned by our Jaina author[9] which reveals that

1 NC 4, p 36, Watters, op. cit, 1, pp. 154-55.
2. विवाहपडलादिएहिं जोतिसगथेहिं विवाहवेल देति—NC 3, p. 400
3. अग्घकडमादिएहिं गथेहिं इम दव्वं विक्किणाहि—Ibid.
4. छदादियाण लोगमत्थाण सुत्तं कहेति अत्थ वा—NC 3, p 399.
5. NC 1, p. 12
6. NC 3, p 412
7. NC. 3, p. 415.
8. इह अहम्मो भारह-रामायणादि पावसुत्त—NC 3, p. 179.
9. NC. 1, pp 103-4.

these texts were widely read by the Jainas though with a view to question the validity of the theories prescribed therein.

Philosophical Systems

Among the various systems of Indian philosophy, mention has been made of the followers of Kapila,[1] Kanāda or Ulūka[2] and Akkhapāda (Aksapāda),[3] showing thereby the existence of the *Sāṁkhya*, *Vaiśeṣika* and *Nyāya* systems of Indian philosophy. I-Tsing also refers to the doctrines of the *Sāṁkhyas* and *Vaiśeṣikas*.[4] *Nyāya* or *Tarka* was the most popular subject mastered by all the sects of the time. The *Hetuśāstra* of Akṣapāda was studied even by the Jaina monks.[5] The author gives proper explanations of the various technical terms of logic like the *vāda, jalpa* and *vitaṇḍa*;[6] this shows his deep knowledge of the subject.

It seems that the different sects had their own individual texts for teaching the science of logic. Among the Jainas *Govimdaṇijjutti* written by the famous dialectician Govinda was one such text.[7] Mastery in logic was indeed practically essential for participating in the religious debates Bāna informs us that the students of the time had to participate in an old logic society[8] where they evidently discussed the problems pertaining to the science of logic (*Tarkaśāstra*).[9]

Secular Literature

Besides this vast literature on religion (*dharma*), there existed the texts dealing with *attha* (*artha*) and *kāma* which were widely read by the cultured section of society. The

1. NC. 1, p. 15; NC. 3, p. 195.
2. NC. 1, p 15.
3 NC. 4, p 88.
4. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 2.
5. हेतुसत्थ अक्खपादादि—NC. 4, p. 88; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 5, p. 1441
6. NC. 2, p. 355.
7. NC. 3, pp. 212, 260; NC. 4, p 96.
8. *Harṣacarita*, p. 71.
9. Saletore, op. cit., p. 98.

story-literature or *kahās* were of three types, viz. *dhamma*, *attha*, and *kāma*.[1] The *dhammakahās* included the tradition of the *carita-kāvyas* which were usually written to eulogise the life-history of some religious hero or saint. The *Vāsudevacariya* and *Cedagakahā* have been cited as the examples of the *dhamma-kahās*.[2] Among the literature dealing with *attha*, *Atthasattha* has been mentioned,[3] which seems to be the same as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya. The works like *Arghakada*[4] were of great importance from the materialistic point of view, since they revealed proper time for venturing into trading or commercial enterprises.

The literature on erotics *(kāma-kahā)* was variously known as *simgārakahā*,[5] *simgārakavva*,[6] *chaliya-kavva*[7] etc. *Setu*[8] and *Itthivaṇṇaga*[9] have been cited as examples of such literature. *Setu* should be the same as *Setubandha*,[10] the Prakrit poem of Pravarasena, perhaps composed in late 6th century A. D.[11]

The various forms of classical literature like the *kahā* (*kathā*), *akhāiyā* (*akkhyāyikā*) and *akkhāṇaga* (*ākhyānaka*)

1. धम्मत्थकामेसु य अण्णाओ वि कहाओ—NC 4, p 26, also pp 251, 253, 399.
2. वसुदेवचरियचेडगादिकहाओ—NC. 4, p 26, NC 3, p 251, also *Bṛh Vṛ* 3, p 722.
3. "अत्थ व" ति अत्थसत्थ—NC 3, p 399.
4 NC 4, p 400.
5. साहवो वेरग्गमग्गटि्ठता सिंगारकहा ण पढति—NC 3, p 253
6. तम्मि अणिच्छते सिंगारकव्वं पाढिज्जति—NC 3, p 251.
7. कत्थ जती, कत्थ छलिगादि कव्वकहा ?—Ibid, p 399
8. जे तेसि वण्णा मेतुमादिया छलियकव्वा—NC. 4, p 26
9. छलिया सिंगारकहा त्थीवण्णगादी—NC 3, p. 399
10 *Setubandha* is attributed to Kālidāsa by certain scholars (see—ed. and trans. by S. Goldschmieth, 1880-4), but according to later theory, it is to be excluded from the works of Kālidāsa because of the difference in its style (Kieth, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 97) Bāna in the beginning of *Harsacarita* refers to the poem of Pravarasena, which must be the same as *Setubandha* (Kieth, op cit., p 316).
11. Stein, *Rājataranginī*, 1. 66, 84, also Kieth, op. cit, p. 97.

have been referred to.[1] The *Naravāhaṇadattakahā* is cited as an example of *kahā*,[2] while the *Tarangavatī*, *Malayavatī*[3] and *Magadhasenā* have been mentioned as *akkhātiyās*.[4] This classification between *kahā* and *akkhātiyā* shows that the author must have been aware of the existing difference between the two according to which the *akhyāyikā* was necessarily based upon certain historical theme, while the *kathā* could be purely a fiction.[5] Among the *akkhāṇagas* the *Dhuttakkhāṇaga* has been referred to from where the author largely quotes.[6] The existence of these different forms of classical literature may be easily attested to from the works of the authors like Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Subandhu who flourished in and around these centuries.

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1. NC 4, p. 26
2. तत्थ लोइया—णरवाहणदत्तकधा—NC. 2, p 415, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 3, p. 722 Naravāhanadatta is the hero of Gunâdhya's *Bṛhatkathā* (see—Keith, op. cit, pp 270-71). Perhaps it might have been a book written on the same theme
3. NC 4, pp. 26, 415, *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 722. *Tarangavatī* was written by Pādalipta Sūri in the third century A D The book is now lost to us, only its fragments are available.—See, Munshi, K.M., *Gujarat and It's Literature.*
4. लोगुत्तरिया तरगवती, मलयवती, मगधसेणादी—NC. 2, p. 415.
5. For difference between *Kathā* and *Akhyāyikā*—see, Kieth, op. cit., pp. 376, 383.
6. अक्खाणगा धुत्तक्खाणगा—NC. 4, p. 26. The *Dhuttakkhāṇaga* mentioned in the NC. may be different from the *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra Sūri written in the 8th century A. D.

CHAPTER VII

FINE ARTS

Apart from being a great Jaina preceptor the author displays his intricate knowledge about the various fine arts of his time. His observations are not only methodical but critical too and his field covers architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama.

Architecture

Architecture from the dawn of civilization is co related to human existence and can be attributed directly towards the progressive growth of the material culture of the people. The author of the NC. has elucidated many an architectural term in clear and simple definition. This information may be classified in two main sections—(i) Religious Architecture and (ii) Secular Architecture.

Religious Architecture—Any architectural structure constructed in connection with religion or religious sentiments can be termed as religious architecture. It included various structures like *cetiya* (*caitya*), *thūbha* (*stūpa*), *leṇa*, *thambha* (*stambha*), *devakula*, *devāyatana*, *pratimāgṛha* etc.

Cetiya or *caitya* was a distinctive feature of the Buddhist[1]

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1. Giving the Buddhist version regarding the origin of the *caityas* I-Tsing informs us that "when the Great Teacher, the world honoured entered into Nirvāna, and men and gods assembled together to burn his remains in the fire, people brought there all kinds of perfumes until they made a great pile which was called '*kiti*' (*citi*) meaning 'piling'. Derived from this we have afterwards the name *Kaitya* (*Caitya*)".—Takakusu, op cit, p. 121.

and Jaina architecture.[1] In the NC. we frequently find the monks as well as laymen going to visit the *caityas* and worshipping the deity there (*caitya-vaṁdana*).[2] Two types of *caityas* are mentioned—*caityas* belonging to very ancient period (*cirāyatana*) and the *caityas* recently constructed (*abhiṇavakaya*).[3] While various ancient *caityas* were existing during this time, the tradition of making new ones also continued. Mention has been made of the Bhanḍīra Caitya of Mathurā where the devotees used to visit from far and wide.[4]

Thūbha or *stūpa* was the earliest form of Jaina architecture and it has been defined as "a structure constructed with the heap of bricks".[5] I-Tsing has also stated that "the *stūpas* or the *caityas* were made by piling up of the bricks or earth."[6] Mention has been made of the Devanirmita-stūpa[7] (God-made) of Mathurā as one of the most sacred places of worship during this time. Various contemporary Jaina authors like Haribhadra Sūri (c. 7th century A.D.), Jinaprabha Sūri and Hariṣena (932 A. D.) have also referred to the Devanirmita-stūpa of Mathurā with different versions regardng its origin.[8] Somadeva also refers to one Devanirmita-stūpa at Mathurā and states that "the shrine is still known by the name of Devanirmita, i e. built by the gods"[9] This Devanirmita-stūpa appears to have been same as Voḍava-stūpa unearthed at Kankālī Tīlā bearing an inscription 'Devanirmita' which has been

1 See–Jaina, J P., *Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp. 234, also p. 237
2 NC. 2, p. 113.
3. चेतिया चिरायतणा अपुव्वा य अहवा अभिणवकया—NC 2, p, 134, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p 776
4. NC 3, p 366
5. इट्ठगादिचिया विच्चा थूभो भण्णति—NC. 2, p 225.
6 Takakusu, op. cit., p 121
7. मधुराए देवणिम्मिय थूभो—NC. 3, p 79; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 5, p. 1536.
8. Shah, U P, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 4
9. अतएवाथापि तत्तीर्थं देवनिर्मिताख्या प्रथते—*Yaśastilaka*, p. 315; Handiqui, K K., *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 43.

assigned the date A. D. 156.[1] According to Furher, "the *stūpa* was so ancient at the time when inscription was incised that its origin had been forgotten"[2]

Leṇa was a temple (*devakula*) built upon the relics of the saints.[3] *Stambhas (thaṁbhas)* were also built to commemorate some sacred event and were constructed out of stone (*sela*) or wood (*kattha*).[4] The free-standing *stambhas* or pillars near Jaina Vasati or dwelling is supposed to be a peculiar feature of Jaina architecture[5] and the various *stambhas* belonging to the contemporary centuries also corroborate the same fact.

Deva-temples[6] (*devakulas* or *devakulikās*) were built at the centre or outside the villages or a town where people assmebled for daily prayer Temples belonging to different sects like the *Rudragṛhas*[7] or *Mātṛgṛhas*[8] have also been mentioned. The sacred place of worship where the image of a deity was installed was known as *caitya* or *pratimāgṛha.*[9] *Devāyatanas* were same as *devakulas.*[10]

Secular Architecture—Secular architecture includes all the architectural structures apart from those mentioned above. The references to a large variety of palaces and houses, innumerable types of residential and occupational buildings, proper arrangement for ventilation and drainage, regular system of

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1 Jain, J P., op cit, p 238

2. Ibid , see also—Smith, V A , *Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p 3 According to Shah, Devanirmita-stūpa of Mathurā is one of the earliest known *stūpas* in India and should be assigned to eighth century B. C especially because the title given to it is in accordance with the *Satapatha Brāhmana* —Shah, op. cit , p 5

3. मडयस्स उवरिं ज देवकुल त लेंग भण्णति—NC. 2, p 225.

4. NC 3, p 149

5 Jaina, J. P., op. cit., p 232

6. NC 3, p 334.

7. NC 1, pp. 146-47.

8 NC. 1, p 147.

9. पडिमा गिह चेतिय—NC. 3, p. 344.

10. Ibid.

house-construction and town-planning along with the various public places like the gardens and parks (*ujjāṇa, ārāma*), rest-houses (*āgaṁtāgāra*), wells and lakes (*kūva, vāvi*) meant for comfort and enjoyment of the public, give us a fair idea of the secular architecture of the time. Architectural structures were divided into three categories : (i) *khāta* or underground construction like the *bhumigṛhas* (underground cells), (ii) *usita* or construction above the ground as the *prāsādas* or palaces and (iii) *khāta-usita* or combined-construction having underground and overground constructions like the palaces with cellars underground.[1]

Prāsāda or Palace—Palaces were usually known as *prāsādas* (*pāsāya*) and were of different types like *dubhūmiga* or *bibhūma* and *hamma* (*harmya*) etc. *Bibhūmas* or *dubhūmigas* were the palaces having two stories (*bhūmi*),[2] while the word *hamma* was used for the uppermost story (*tala*) of the palace.[3]

A particular area was reserved for the palace in the city. The city including the royal palace was surrounded by ditches (*parihā, khātiyā*) and ramparts (*pāgāra*)[4] which had only one main entrance. At this entrance were built two large columns which were known as *balāṇaga*[5] and inside it was the *gopura*[6] or the gate-house which gave entrance to the royal palace. There were also many arched-gateways or the

1. वत्थु तिविहं—खातं, उसितं, खात-उसित। खातं भूमिगिहं, उसियं पासाराादि, खाओ-मियं हेट्ठा भूमिगिहं उवरिं पासाओ कओ–NC 1, p. 114, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, pp 263-64.
2. गिहोवरि मालो दुभूमिगादी—NC. 3, p 379, NC 4, p 191. This type of buildings or palaces have been known as *dvi-tala* also –Acharya, P.K., *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 282.
3. सव्वोवरि तल हम्मतल भूमितलं तरं वा हम्मतलं—NC. 3, p 379. The *Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra* (XIII 10) also defines *harmya* as "the uppermost storey of a house" which according to Bhattacharya is not clear at all. —*A Study on Vastu-Vidyā*, p 266.
4. NC 2, p 433; NC 3, p. 344
5. बलाणग दारं, सो बलाणगा पागारपडिबद्धा—NC. 2, p. 433.
6. ताण अंतरं गोपुरं—Ibid. *Gopura* was a colossal building built over or near the gate giving entrance to a city.—Acharya, op cit., p. 74.

toraṇas.[1] The gates were fastened with strong iron-bolts called *aggalā*[2] for safeguarding the palace. On one side of the *pāgāra* (*prākāra*) near the entrance was situated the royal palace[3] and a passage of eight hands between the *prākāra* and the *prāsāda* or the palace was left open for the chariots (*rahamagga*) which was known as *cariyā*.[4] The palace was decorated with turrets (*ṇijjūha*) and latticed windows (*gavakkha*);[5] its floors were sometimes studded with precious stones and jewels[6] Besides the palace of the king, there were palaces of the ministers known as *amacca-pāsāya*.[7]

Wooden palaces as well as palaces made of bricks and stones were quite common. A story narrates that king Seniya of Rāyagiha ordered his architects to make an *ega-khambha-pāsāya* (palace based on one pillar) for him. A large tree having auspicious signs (*salakkhaṇa*) was selected by the architect for the purpose of building the palace but a Vāṇamamtara residing on the tree requested him not to cut the same and himself made a beautiful *ega-khambha-pāsāya* for the king which was decorated with gardens and surrounded with ditches and ramparts from all the sides.[8] Describing the glory of Rāma's palace Vimala Sūri informs us that the whole palace was one-pillared (*egatthambha*) and seemed like the *Kalpataru*.[9] Palaces made on one-pillar-base were specifically known as *Khamdha*[10] Mention has also been made of an ivory

1. रन्नोदुवारादिसु तोरणा—NC. 3, p. 344 For construction of the Toranas see—Acharya, op cit, p. 246
2. णगरदुवारादिसु अग्गला—NC. 3, p 344
3. तस्सेव पासगो रहस ठितो पासातो—Ibid.
4. पागारस्स अहो अड्ढहत्थो रहमग्गो चरिया—NC. 2, p. 433.
5. णिज्जूहगवक्खोवसोभितो पासादो—NC 3, p 379.
6. जति वि मणिकोट्टिम भूमी—NC. 2, p 154.
7. NC. 3, p. 81.
8. NC. 1, p. 9.
9. *Paumacariya*, 80. 2-14, Chandra, K R., *A Critical Study of Paumacariya* (unpublished thesis), p. 539
10. See–Motichandra, "Architectural Data in Jaina Canonical Literature," *JRAS.* (Bombay Branch), Vol 26 pp 168-82.

palace (*sacca-damta-maya-pāsāya*) which was asked to be made by king Damtavakka of Damtapura to fulfil the pregnancy-longing of the queen.[1]

Mention of the *sīyaghara* (*śītagṛha*) or the cool-house of an emperor built by an efficient architect (*vaddhakīrayaṇa*) to suit all the seasons has been made. It was cool in summer and warm in winter and was unaffected by the dampness of the rainy season.[2] Such houses were sometimes built by the wealthy citizens also.[3] This *śītagṛha* of the NC. may be compared to the *samudragṛha* or cool-summer-houses mentioned by Vātsyāyana, "which were surrounded by water, washed as it were by the sea and also rooms in the walls of which there were secret passages for water to circulate and take away the heat."[4]

Houses and Buildings and Their Layout—Various types of houses and other buildings have been mentioned in the text Each of these was styled according to its architectural style or nature of its use. The houses were usually called *gṛha*, *ghara*[5] or *āgāra*, since they were made out of trees (*agama*).[6] It shows that perhaps formerly only wooden houses were built, but frequent references to the baked bricks and strong walls[7] indicate that other materials were also used. The *Caussāla* (*catuśśāla*) houses are frequently mentioned[8] which signifies the usual plan of the house-construction. The style of having apartments or rooms on four sides around the inner

1. NC 4, p. 361
2. वड्ढकीरयण-णिम्मिय चक्किणो सीयघरं भवति,वासासु णिवाय-पवातं, सीयकाले सोम्हं, गिम्हे सीयलं—NC. 3, p. 44
3. Ibid.
4 *Kāmasūtra* (Sū. 17), pp. 283-84, Chakaldar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 154
5 NC 1, p. 89, NC. 2, pp 131, 224.
6. "अगमा" रुक्खा, तेहिं कत "अगार" घरं—NC. 2, p. 131; also NC. 4, p. 388,
7. NC. 2, p 439.
8. चाउस्साले घरे वसेज्जा—NC. 2, pp. 266, 333, 422, NC. 1, p. 89, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 403 and 3, p. 742.

courtyard (*maṇḍapa-sthāna* or *aṅgaṇa*) was a very ancient one[1] and even Bhāsa designates the *antaḥpura* of the ladies as "the inner court with apartments on four sides (*ābhyantara-catuḥśālā*)."[2] According to Chakaldar, this plan combined the advantages of seclusion and privacy together with provisions for light and air.[3] *Tesāla* (*triśāla*)[4] houses have also been mentioned which had apartments on three sides only

The houses were built in a line (*sāhi*) along the road-side.[5] The word *giha* not only meant the inner-apartment (*gihabbhamtara*) but could also mean the entire house.[6] The houses had two entrances (*gihamuha*).[7] The inner courtyard around which rooms were built was called *maṇḍapatthāṇa* or *angaṇa*[8] and the passage for entrance in the front was called *giha-duvāra*.[9] The houses were built with baked bricks, and strong walls were covered with windows and doors opened towards the front.[10] The situation of the various architectural features like *gihamuha*, *aṅgaṇa*, *ālinda*, *koṭṭhaga*[11] and *gihaduvāra* etc. clearly shows that a regular pattern was followed for the construction of the houses.

1. See—Acharya, op cit , p 193, also Rangachari, K., "Town-planning and House-building in Ancient India according to Silpa Śāstras," *IHQ.*, Vol. 4, pp 102-9.
2. Bhāsa, *Cārudatta* (ed. by T Ganapati Śāstrī), Act. I, see also–*Catuḥśāla* in Bhāsa s *Avimāraka* (Trivendram Sanskrit Series), pp 23, 42, 86
3. Chakaldar, op. cit , p. 154
4. NC. 2, p 333, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 493 and 3, p. 742.
5. घरपती साही भण्णति—NC 2, p 209.
6. घरस्स अंतो गिहब्भतरं गिह भण्णति । गिह-गहणेण वा सव्व चेव घरं घेप्पनि—NC 2, p. 224.
7. Ibid.
8. गिहस्स अग्गतो अब्भावगासं मंडवथाणं अंगणं भण्णति—Ibid
9. अग्गदार पवेसितं तं गिहदुवार भण्णनि—Ibid.
10. पक्किट्टगादि घणकुड्डा······सकवाडा······महत पुरोहडा य—NC. 2, p. 439
11. *Koṭṭhaga* is explained as *ālinda* which was situated at the frontal entrance.—NC. 2, p. 224, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p 742 and 4, p 975. The word *ālinda* is taken to denote the lattice-covered path beyond the wall of

Bhavanas and *Mahāgṛhas* (large houses) also known as *niveṣaṇas*[1] were also constructed. The *bhavanas* are explained as stupendous houses surrounded with greenery and vegitation on all the sides.[2] The *mahāgṛhas* usually belonged to the rich Seṭṭhis and could accommodate a large number of people. In one such house five hundred monks are said to have taken resort during their rain-retreat.[3] *Ujjāṇagihas* were the pleasure-houses constructed amidst beautiful surroundings of gardens. *Nijjāṇagihas* were the houses made outside the city and were used as rest-houses for the kings while travelling.[4] *Sunnagihas* were the dilapidated houses which were used as rest-houses by the travellers and monks. *Rukkhagihas* were the houses made of tree or on the tree.[5] There were also *bhūmigihas* or underground cells[6] used for various purposes. Apart from these the little huts (*tiṇakudiyā*), thatched with bamboo and reeds, were used by the poor people.[7]

Śālā—While the *gihas* had walls, the *sālās* were devoid of walls.[8] It shows that the *śālā* was a hall-like structure without any compartments inside. Various *sālās*, viz. *jāṇasālā*, *gosālā*, *taṇasālā*, *tusasālā*, *kammaṁtasālā*, *kuṁbhakārasālā* etc. have been mentioned.[9]

Āgāra-Āgāra denoted a house but it has also been used as a name ending with the various types of buildings. The *ārāmāgāra* and *āgaṁtāgāra* were the rest-houses, the former being parti-

a hall and facing (or in front of) the courtyard.—Acharya, op. cit, p 54.

1 NC. 2, p 209, also p. 433.

2. NC. 3, p. 344.

3. NC. 2, p. 138, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 988.

4. णगरणिग्गमे ज ठियं त णिज्जाण पतेसु चेव गिहा कया उज्जाण—णिज्जाणगिहा—NC. 2, p 433.

5 NC. 3, p. 344

6. णूम गिह भूमिघर—Ibid., also NC. 1, p. 114.

7 NC 1, p. 9.

8. सकुड्डं गिहं, अकुड्डा साला—NC 3, p. 344; NC. 2, p. 433.

9 Ibid.

cularly situated inside a garden.[1] *Bhiṇṇāgāras* and *suṇṇāgāras* were the same as *suṇṇagihas.*[2] *Kūḍāgāras* were the houses constructed on the top of a hill or houses with a conical shape.[3] *Dhaṇṇāgāras* and *koṭṭhāgāras*, as mentioned earlier, were the granaries meant for storing the food-grains.[4] Besides these buildings, there were *sabhā* and *āyataṇa* which were the assembly halls (*samavāyaṭṭhāṇa*) for nobles or for public gathering.[5]

Essential Features of House-Construction—Elucidating the various rules for the proper *vasati* (dwelling) required by the Jaina monks during their rain-retreat, the author elaborates the various features of house-construction which had great importance from the architectural point of view. These features have been divided into two groups—principal (*mūlaguṇa*) and subsidiary (*uttaraguṇa*).[6] The principal features numbering seven in all were indispensable for an architectural structure. These were four *mūlavelis* or cross-beams, two *dhāraṇas* or wooden columns or pillars and one *paṭṭhivaṁsa* or the beam which was the base of the whole inner-structure.[7] On the basis of their importance the subsidiary features have been subdivided into two groups. Features having more importance were—(i) *vaṁsaga*, (ii) *kaḍaṇa*, (iii) *okampaṇa*, (iv) *chāvaṇa*, (v) *levaṇa*, (vi) *duvāra* and (vii) *bhūmikamma.*[8]

1. NC. 2, p. 199.
2. NC 2, p 433.
3. अपो विसात उवरुवरिं संवड्ढिस कूडागार—NC 2, p. 433. पव्वयसठितं उवरुवरि-भूमियाहिं वड्ढमाण कूडागार—NC. 3, p. 344. *Kūḍāgāra* or 'gabled mansion' is explained as self-contained separately roofed pavilion on any story of palace. According to Coomaraswamy, *Kūṭāgāra* was a chamber with walls analogus to *uttamāgāra* of a *dvārakoṭ'haka* and having a ridged, barrel-vaulted or doomed roof.—*Early Indian Architecture*, p. 143; Motichandra, op. cit., pp. 177-78
4. NC. 2, p. 433; NC 3, p. 344.
5. सद्स्य: स्थान सभा—लोगसमवायठाणं आयतणं—NC. 3, p. 344.
6. NC. 2, p. 65
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1., p. 169.

An analysis of these features reveals that after the inner-structure of the house was built the open space was filled up with bamboo reeds (*vaṁsaga*), the walls were built up (*kaḍaṇa*), the bamboo reeds were painted (perhaps with a layer of mud) (*okaṁpaṇa*), the roof was thatched with *darbha* or such other coarse grasses (*chāvaṇa*), the walls were painted probably with chunam (*levaṇa*), doors large or small were made according to the size of the house (*duvāra*), and the earth or floor was made even and clean (*bhūmikamma*).[1] This made the construction of a house complete, still some more process was required to make it fit for residence. The forthcoming features were included amongst the less important ones, i. e. after the construction was over the house was dusted and cleaned (*pamajjaṇa*), washed with water, plastered with cowdung (*uvalevaṇa*), strewn with flowers (*pupplovayārapadāṇa*) and illuminated with lamps kept burning (*divaga-pajjalana*)[2]. Proper care was taken to make the house free from dampness, as it was believed that "dampness of the house leads to indigestion".[3]

From the above account it may be seen that most of the portion of the house was built of wood, bamboo and reeds, although bricks and mud must have been used for the walls.[4] In case of the *skandha* or *prākāra* which was the surrounding wall of a city, it has been specifically stated that it was constructed with bricks, mud and wood.[5] It is interesting to find a similar account of Indian architecture given by Yuan Chwang when he says : "As to the construction of houses and enclosing walls, the country being low and moist, most of the city-walls are built of bricks, while walls of houses and enclosures are of wattled bamboo or wood. Their halls and terraced

1 NC. 2, p 377, also p 333.
2. NC. 2, p. 334.
3. सीतलवसहीए भत्त' ण जीरति, ततो गेलण्णं जायति—NC. 2, p 37.
4. NC. 2, p. 439.
5. मृदिष्टकदारुसंघातो स्कन्ध इत्यर्थः—NC. 3, p. 379.

belvederes have wooden flat-roofed rooms, and are coated with chunam, and covered with tiles burnt or unburnt....The (houses) thatched with coarse or common grass are of bricks or boards; their walls are ornamented with chunam, the floor is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season."[1]

Staircases, Drains and Bridges—Staircases known as *sovāṇa* or *padamagga* were an integral part of the buildings. They were of two types—staircases made by digging the earth,[2] as required in case of the underground cells, and staircases built over the ground with bricks and stones[3] which afforded a way for ascending the upper stories. On the basis of situation these could be again divided into two groups—staircases attached to the inner apartments of a house (*vasahīsambaddha*) and staircases away from it (*vasahīasambaddha*), as in case of the staircases of the courtyard (*amgana*) or near the frontal entrance (*aggadāra*).[4]

Proper system of drainage was a necessary must specially because of the damp climate. Drains (*dagavīṇiyā*) were made to take away the rain-water.[5] The drains connected to a house could be built at three particular spots—(i) drains outside the houses, (ii) drains inside the houses and (iii) drains upon the roof or terrace. Drains outside the house were underground (*nicca-pariggala*),[6] drains inside the house were constructed by digging the floor,[7] and drains upon the roof or terrace were made to extract the rain-water from accumu-

1. Watters, op cit., I, p. 147, Beal, op cit., 1, pp. 73–74.
2. पुढविं चेव खणिऊण कता—NC. 2, p. 34.
3. अतज्जाया इट्टगपासाणादीहिं कता—Ibid.
4. सबद्धा वसहीए लग्गा ठिता, असबद्धा अगणए अग्गपवेसदारे वा—NC. 2, p. 34.
5. वासासु दगवीणिया कज्जति—NC. 2, p. 36.
6. जा सा वसहीसंबद्धा बहिया सा निच्चपरिग्गलो—Ibid.
7. जा सा अतो संबद्धा ता भूमी उम्मज्जति—Ibid.

lating. Water could come out through passages made inside the walls or through holes made for drains (*paṇāla-chiḍḍa*).[1]

Bridges (*saṁkama*) were required either for spanning the marshy grounds (*visama-kaddama*) or for crossing the rivers. There were two varieties of bridges—bridges built upon earth, and bridges whose spans were based on pillars (*khaṁbha*) or beams (*veli*).[2] These could be made either by a single piece of wood or by joining various pieces together.[3] Wooden bridges seem to have been a familiar feature in Gujarat. The contemporary Valabhī inscriptions mention that the moat around the wall, which surrounded the city of Valabhī, was pierced by a number of gates, and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat.[4] Bridges were both movable or permanent fixtures according to their construction [5]

Wells, Ponds and Miscellaneous Architectural Structures—A number of wells, pools, artificial lakes and ponds have been mentioned, which were a source of recreation for the people and also solved their water problem. While *kūpa*, *taḍāga* and *daha*[6] were ordinary wells and ponds, *vāpī* is mentioned as a rectangular construction (*samavṛta*)[7] and *pukkharaṇī* as quadrangular in shape (*cāturassa*).[8] *Dīhiya* was another variety of water-reservoirs and sometimes many such ponds or lakes were built together in a circular form (*maṇḍali-samthiya*).[9] The *Paumacariya* of Vimala Sūri informs us that reservoirs of water which were square in shape were known as *vāvi*, the

1. Ibid.
2 NC 2, p. 34; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 5, p. 1492.
3 Ibid.
4 Information as given by Prof. Nadvi of Ahmedabad ı *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 220.
5. पुनरप्येकैको चलस्थिरविकल्पेन नेयः—NC. 2, p. 34.
6. NC. 3, p. 346.
7. समवृता वापी—Ibid.
8. चातुरस्सा पुक्खरणी—NC. 3, p 346.
9 Ibid.

long and narrow ones as *dīhiya* and circular as *pukkharaṇī*.[1] Vātsyāyana also informs us that the proper house of a Nāgaraka must have wells (*kūpa*) and tanks or lakes (*vāpī* or *dīrghikā*) attached to it.[2] *Guñjāliyā* was same as *pukkharaṇī* but it was circular in shape.[3] There were also small and large pools (*mahā-pramāṇa-sara*) and sometimes many ponds were dug together in a line which was styled as *sarapaṁti*.[4] Water-places were known as *prapā* where water was distributed to the travellers during the summer season. It is evident that architects of this time were aware of constructing all these architectural structures and a regular system of architecture was evolved according to which the constructions were duly made.

Sculpture

Images of gods and human beings carved in wood, ivory and stones and cast in clay and plaster reveal the art of sculpture as a well developed one.[5] A proper standard was expected from the sculptor. Images were classified according to the expression imparted to them by the sculptor or according to the material used in making the same. In the NC. images have been classified in three groups (i) images of birds and beasts (*tiriyapaḍimā*), (ii) images of human beings (*maṇuya-paḍimā*) and (iii) images of gods and goddesses (*devī-paḍimā*).[6] Small clay models of elephants, buffaloes, cows etc.[7] have been mentioned in the NC. Bāṇa also mentions the group of sculptors making such trivial things as models of fish, tortoise, crocodiles, coconut, plantain and areca-nut trees on the occasion of Rājyaśrī's marriage.[8]

1. Chandra, K. R, op. cit, p. 541
2. मध्ये कूपं वापीं दीर्घिकां वा खानयेत्—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 225; Chakaldar, op. cit., p. 151.
3. NC 3, p. 346.
4. NC 3, p. 346.
5. For sculpture in ancient India see–Gangoly, D.C., "Indian Sculpture", *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 536-54.
6 NC. 2, p. 30.
7. NC 1, p 61.
8 *Harṣacarita*, p. 143.

According to the popular custom, life-size statues of the enemy was modelled in clay inscribed with his name (*vāullaga*, *puruṣaputtalaga miṇmaya-pratimā*). It was then shot down at the centre by an arrow. This act was supposed to bring his down-fall.[1] A life-size statue of Amātya Vārattaga, who later embraced monastic life, was built by his devoted son. It was adorned with all the paraphernalia of a Jaina monk, i. e. with broom (*rajoharaṇa*) and mouth-covering (*muhapottiyā)*, and was then installed in the *deva*-temple.[2]

Although the word *pratimā* has been used for all types of images, this word had a sacred connotation. According to the author, *pratimās* were the images which were to be worshipped by human beings.[3] Śukrācārya (circa 500 A.D.) believes that even a mishapen image of a god is to be prefered to an image of a human being irrespective of the physical charm it may display.[4] A large number of festivals were held in honour of the various gods and dieties.[5] Their images must have been made by their respective followers. A mention has been made of the golden image of Rsabha[6] kept in the cave of Vaitāḍhya mountain where the disciples went on pilgrimage. Kosala was famous for its *Jiyanta-pratimā* (image of the living god) which was an object of worship for people from far and wide.[7]

Mention has been made of a sandal-wood image of Vardhamāna Svāmī which was in possession of the king Udāyana. This was later taken away by king Pajjoya of Ujjayinī by replacing a similar plaster cast image in its place.[8] Similar stories of

1. NC. 1, p. 65, also pp. 61, 63.
2. NC 4, p. 158; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p 1110.
3. अच्चयति तामिति अच्चा प्रतिमा—NC 2, p. 30.
4. Coomarswamy, A. K., *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 16.
5 See Chapter VIII
6. NC. 3, p. 144.
7. कोसलाए व जियंतपडिमा—NC. 3, p. 79.
8. NC. 3, pp. 141-45.

Jīvantasvāmī image have been narrated in the various Jaina texts like *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* and *Kumārapālacarita*.[1] The existence of this tradition known only from literature can be supported by the find of bronze image of Jīvantasvāmī from Akota, with an inscription on its pedestal in characters of circa 550 A. D. expressly calling it an image af Jīvantasvāmī. Another bronze image of the same iconographic type, more beautiful and older, but with its pedestal lost, has also been found in the same hoard.[2]

The images of Brahmā, Visnu, Rudra and all other gods or the *gaṇas* of gods (*devagaṇa*) were made and worshipped by their respective devotees.[3] Reference has also been made of an image of Nārāyaṇa which was installed in the temple.[4] A beautiful image adorned with flower-garlands was worshipped in Ānandapura.[5] People physically unclean were not allowed to touch or worship these sacred images.[6] During the *Leppagamaha* which was a festival observed in ancient times during the early spring season (*bālavasanta*), the images of gods were taken in a procession accompanied by artisans playing the musical instruments in order to be installed in the temple.[7]

On the basis of material used, the images of gods were classified in three categories[8] . (i) images of gods and goddesses carved in wood (*kattha-kamma*) or cast in clay (*pottha*) or plaster (*leppaga*) or paintings (*citta-kamma*). They belonged to the lowest grade as they were susceptible to getting spoiled

1. Shah, U. P , *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 4.
2 Ibid., p. 5, also see figs. 20 and 22.
3 NC. 3, p. 142.
4. एतेहिं पडिणीयताए णारायणादिपडिमा झामिता—।
5 NC. 3, p. 349.
6. बाहिरमललित्तो तं पडिम छिवति, अच्चणं वा से वु
7. NC. 3, p. 145.
8. NC 4, p 6; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p. 708.

even by touch.[1] (ii) Images carved out of ivory (*hatthidamta*) were of the medium grade. These also were delicate in nature and appearance and could be easily spoiled.[2] (iii) Images carved out of stones like *manisila* (red-stone) were the best. These were soothing to touch and were not spoiled easily.[3] Evidently different materials were used for making images. This corroborates Smith's observation that "small portable images of the saints are made of crystal, alabaster, soap stone and various other materials, while the larger ones are carved from whatever kind of stone is locally available"[4] and that "the Jainas delighted in making their images of all materials and sizes".[5] I-Tsing also mentions that various types of materials like gold, silver, copper, iron, clay and stones were used for making images.[6]

Painting

Like sculpture the art of painting was also practised for religious as well as secular purposes. Paintings having sacred objects as well as erotic scenes have been mentioned in the text. The art of painting was known as *citta-kamma*.[7] Like the images of gods, the paintings of gods and goddesses were also a favourite theme of the paintess (*citrakāras*).[8]

The walls of the houses were sometimes painted with erotic scenes (*sacittakammā vasahī*) depicting the vorious objects relating to marriage like *vāsagṛha*.[9] This practice of having

1. जा दिव्वपडिया कट्ठे पोत्थे लेप्पगे चित्तकम्मे वा जा कीरइ एयं जहण्णय–NC. 4, p. 6.
2. जा पुण हत्थिदते कीरति सा मज्झिमा, जेण सुभतरफरिमा, अत्रापि हीरसंभव —Ibid.
3. मणिसोलादिसु जा कीरइ सा उक्कोसा, सुकुमालफरिसत्तणतो अहीरत्तणतो य—Ibid.
4. Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, pp. 267-68
5. Walhouse, quoted by Jaina, J. P., *Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, p 230.
6. Takakusu, op cit., p. 150.
7. NC 4, p 6.
8. NC. 2, p. 327
9. तासु सचित्तकम्मासु वसहीसु अण्णारिसो भावो समुप्पज्जति—NC. 2, p. 461.

"painted walls" in the houses is attested by the contemporary literature. A contemporary Jaina story called "Domuha's tale" describes a guild of craftsman painting a hall in the royal palace with beautiful paintings.[1] They were rewarded with gifts of raiments and other presents after the completion of their work.[2] Kālidāsa frequently refers to the palaces decorated with paintings (*sacitrāḥ prāsādāḥ, sadmasu citravatsu*).[3] Bāna also shows a group of painters painting auspicious scenes on the walls of palace on the occasion of Rājyaśrī's marriage.[4] Mention has also been made of the female figures painted in such paintings.[5] It perhaps indicates towards the practice of carving '*citra-putrikās*' in the royal palaces.[6]

Paintings were also made on wood, clay, plaster, books and clothes.[7] Single-coloured paintings as well as multi-coloured paintings having five colours were known.[8] Bāna also displays his knowledge of the five elementary colours,[9] and mentions a specific term *varṇasamkara* for mixing the various colours.[10] It is evident that the art of painting was well-known to the people, although no further details can be judged from the text.

Music

Music was popular amongst all the sections of society. It formed an integral part of the social and religious functions.

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1. Meyer, J. H., *Hindu Tales*, p. 174
2. Ibid., p. 139.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 1. 17, *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 15, 25, see also–Upadhyay, B. S., *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 231.
4. *Harṣacarita*, p. 124
5. अम्ह चित्तकम्मे वि लिहिया इत्थी वज्जणिज्जा—NC. 2, p 17.
6. *Harṣacarita*, p. 165.
7. कट्ठकम्म कोट्टिमादि, पुस्तकेषु च वस्त्रेषु पोत्थं, चित्तलेपा प्रसिद्धा—NC. 3, p. 349.
8. चित्तविचित्तो पचवण्णेहिं—NC. 2, p. 327.
9. *Kādambari*, p. 143
10. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Music in ancient India was associated with semi-gods like the *gaṁdharvas*, *kinnaras* and *jakkhas*[1] who practised it in assembly of gods in heaven (*deva-sabhā*) to please the higher gods. A proper classification of music along with description of the various musical instruments given in the NC. displays the wide knowledge of the author on this subject. Music was divided into two groups—vocal and instrumental—although the former was also invariably accompanied with some type of musical instrument.

Vocal Music—Vocal music known as *gāṁdharva*, *gīta* or *geya*[2] was divided into four categories; (i) *tamtisama*, (ii) *tāla-sama*, (iii) *gahasama* and (iv) *layasama*.[3] *Taṁtisama* was the music accompanied by stringed instruments (*tamtī*) like *vīṇā* or *vivañci*. *Tālasama* was the music in accordance with rhythm or rhythmic beating of the drums (*tāla*).[4] *Gahasama* is explained as music in unison with 'voices' or 'notes' (*svara*)[5] and *lavasama* was music adopted to different 'speeds' or *layas* (a kind of measure in music).[6] According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the essential qualities of music were (i) it should be in accordance to a recognised scale, (ii) it should be composed of seven notes or *svaras* and (iii) it should be accompanied by one of the stringed instruments like *vīṇā* or *vivañci*. It should also be adapted to three speeds—(i) *druta*, (ii) *madhya* and (iii) *vilambita*, i. e. fast, slow and medium [7]

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1. NC. 2, p. 12, NC. 3, p. 141, NC. 4, p 2
2. सरकरण सरसचारो वा गेय—NC. 4, p. 199, NC 2, p 12.
3. गीय चउव्विह-तंतिसम तालसम गहसम लयसम च—NC 4, p 2; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 697
4. *Tāla* is a technical term in music used for rhythmic beating.
5. *Gaha* is explained as instrumental music by J. C. Jain (LAI, p. 183). According to the NC, however, it was music in accordance with the *svaras* (NC 4, p. 2). For seven *svaras* or notes or voices in music see—*Amarakośa*, 1. 611.
6. According to the Amarakośa, *laya* is the perfect harmonious combination of *nṛtya-gana* and *vādya*
7. See—Dharma, P. C., "Musical Culture in the Rāmāyaṇa", *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV (1937-38), p. 447.

Music was equally practised by both the sexes.[1] Women were supposed to be having sweet voice[2] and men versed in music were given the compliment of *gamdharva* or *kinnara*.[3] *Gamdhavva-natta-sālā* was the place where music was regularly practised.[4]

Instrumental Music—Instrumental music was played independently or along with the vocal music. Musical instruments were known as *āojja*[5] or *turiya*.[6] *Aujjasālā* was the place where the various musical instruments were kept.[7] These have been divided into four classes. (i) *tata*, (ii) *vitata*, (iii) *ghaṇa* and (iv) *jhusira*.[8] *Tata* is explained as stringed instruments (*tamtī*) like *vīṇā*, flute etc.[9] *Vitata* refers to percussion instruments. *Vitata* includes *ānaddha* or *avanaddha* (stretched or leather-bound) instruments like the various kinds of drums, tabors etc.[10] *Ghaṇa* was the concussion instrument like the instruments played upon by sticks.[11] *Jhusiras* were the hollow or wind instruments like *vamsa*[12] etc. The *Niśītha Sūtra* refers to the following list of 35 musical instruments which

1. NC. 2, p 12
2. मित-मधुर-गीनादिभासासद्दे · ··स्त्रीवत्—NC 2, p 20
3. NC. 2, p 12.
4. NC 3, p 297
5. NC 4, p ?4.
6. बहु आउज्जसमुद्दातो वा तूर भण्णति—NC. 3, p. 101.
7. NC. 3, p. 297.
8. आउज्ज चउव्विह–ततं बितत घण झुसिर—NC. 4, p. 2; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 697; *Amarakośa*, 1. 1 16, *Yaśastilaka*, p 384, *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Ti. Abhaya), 5 4 148.
9. आलत्रिणीयमादि वत· ·अहवा—ततीहिं तत—NC. 4, p 201, *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 697, *Harṣacarita*, Tr. p. 19.
10. बहुतनीहिं वितत·· मुहमउदादि विततं—NC. 4, p 201.
11. घणं उज्जउलकुडा—Ibid.
12. झुसिर वसादिया—Ibid See also—Dharma, P. C, op cit., p 450. For proper explanation of the four types of musical instruments see—Kapadia, H. R, "The Jaina Data about Musical Instruments"—JOIB., Vol II, No, 3, pp. 263–67, also Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 377–87.

have been classified into the four above-mentioned categories.[1]

(i) *Vitata or Percussion Instruments*—(i) *bheri*, (ii) *paḍaha*, (iii) *murava*, (iv) *muiṁga*, (v) *naṁdi*, (vi) *jhallari*, (vii) *vallari*, (viii) *damaruga*, (ix) *maḍḍaya*, (x) *saduva*, (xi) *paesa*, (xii) *golui* etc., are included in the *vitata* class of instruments.

(ii) *Tata or Stringed Instruments*—(i) *vīṇā*, (ii) *vivaṁci*, (iii) *tuṇa*, (iv) *bavvīsaga*, (v) *vīṇāiya*, (vi) *tuṁbavīṇā*, (vii) *jhoḍaya*, (viii) *dhaṁkuṇa* etc. are included in the *tata* or stringed class of instruments.

(iii) *Ghaṇa* or *Concussion Instruments*—(i) *tāla*, (ii) *kaṁsatāla*, (iii) *littiya*, (iv) *gohiya*, (v) *makariya*, (vi) *kacchabhi*, (vii) *mahai*, (viii) *saṇāliyā*, (ix) *valyā* etc. belong to the *ghaṇa* class of instruments.

(iv) *Jhusira* or *Hollow* or *Wind Instruments*—(i) *śaṅkha*, (ii) *vaṁsa*, (iii) *venu*, (iv) *kharamuhi*, (v) *parilasa*, (vi) *vevā* etc. are mentioned as *jhusira* instruments.

The NC. enlightens us about some of the instruments mentioned above and also gives information about few more additional instruments which came into vogue by this time. *Śankha* was from an aquatic animal,[2] *śṛṅga* was made of the horn of buffalo,[3] *saṁkhiyā* was a similar instrument but it was longer in length and smaller in width.[4] *Kharamuhī* was same as *kāhala*, its frontal portion made of wood was shaped like the mouth of an ass.[5] *Piripiritī* was an instrument made by joining together two pieces of hollow sticks and its mouth-piece had only one opening. It was blown like a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) and produced three different sounds simulta-

1. NS XVII 135–38 (NC. 4, pp. 200–201).
2. "संखो" जलचरप्राणिविशेष: —NC. 1, p. 84, NC. 4, p. 201.
3. सिंगं महिसीसिंग—Ibid.
4. दीर्घाकृति स्वल्पा च संखिया—NC. 4, p. 201.
5. खरमुखी काहला, तस्स मुहत्थाणे खरमुहाकारं कट्ठमयं मुहं कज्जति—Ibid.; *Harṣacarita*, p 204, for the construction of the *Kāhala* see—Agrawala, *Kādaṁbarī : Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p 77.

neously.[1] *Gumjā-paṇava* and *bhambhā* were the musical instruments used by the *menṭhas* (elephant-drivers) and the *mātaṅgas*.[2] *Dundubhi* was similar to *bherī* but was constricted towards the mouth-piece. *Muraja* was larger than *bherī* in size.[3] *Nālikā* was an instrument made from the jointless portion of the bamboo reed (*apavva-vamsa*), it was known as *muralī* (flute) also[4] Other musical instruments like *kamsiga*, *kamsālaga*, *bhala*, *tālajala* and *vādiya*[5] have also been mentionned which are not included in any of the traditional four groups. The large number of instruments mentioned in the NC. indicates the popularity of the musical instruments in the society during this time.

There were also organised bands of singers and musicians who were proficient in playing the various instruments. The head or master of such bands was known as *tūryapati* and the other artists working under him were known as *kusīla*[6] or *tālācara*[7] These musicians were usually employed by the king for various purposes, and we find that it was their proud privilege to receive the old garments of the king apart from the wages as a reward of their services to the king.[8]

These musical instruments were played upon on various social and religious occasions[9] Army always marched in accompaniment to the sound of various musical instruments[10]

1. मुहमूले एगमुहा सा मखागारेण वाइज्जमाणी जुगव निग्गि महे पिरिपिरिती करेति—NC. 4, p 201
2. गुंजापणवो मठाण भवति। भभा मायंगाण भवति—Ibid The term *Guñjā* occurring in the *Āyāra Nijjutti* (v 166) has been explained by Śīlānka Sūri as under—गुञ्जा भभा तद्वत् गुञ्जन् यो वाति मा गुञ्जावात — See, Kapadia, *JOIB.*, Vol. II
3. NC. 4, p. 381
4. णालिय त्ति अपव्वा भवति, सा पुण लोए "मुरली" भण्णति—NC 1, p. 84.
5. कंसिग-कसालग-भल-तालजल-वादिआ—NC. 4, p 201.
6. NC 3, p 577, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, p. 190.
7. तालाचरादिभि. विद्याविशेषैः चरंति तालाचरा—NC. 3, p. 577.
8. Ibid.
9. See—Music.
10. NC. 1, p. 8.

like *śaṅkha*, *śṛṅga*, *bherī*, *duṁdubhi* and *paṭaha* etc. Bāṇa writing about the army before its march depicts the scene in a graphic way: "Straight away the drums rattled, the *nandīs* rang out joyously, the trumpets breyed, the *kāhalas* hummed, the horns blared, the noise of the camp gradually increased."[1] Various instruments like *ṇaṁdīmuha*, *mauṁda*, *saṁkha* and *paḍaha* when seen or heard in a dream were considered auspicious for acquiring material prosperity.[2]

Dance and Drama

Related to music were the arts of dance (*nṛtya*, *ṇaṭṭa*) and drama (*ṇāḍaga*, *abhiṇaya*) and these have been mentioned as components of music. The *naḍas* or *nattas*[3] have been mentioned along with the *tālācaras* and *kusīlas*. The term *gaṁdhavva-ṇattasālā*[4] also indicates that music and dancing were practised together. Three different terms, i. e. *ṇaṭṭa*, *ṇāḍaga* and *nṛtya* have been mentioned in the NC. *Ṇatta* was without music, while *nāḍaga* was accompanied by music.[5] *Nṛtya* is explained as assuming various postures or forms by the different parts of the body, i. e. feet, thigh, knee, waist, arms, fingers, face, eyes and eyebrows along with their proper expression (*vikāraka-raṇa*).[6] Expression thus played a great part in dancing and dramatic performances.

A proper training under a competent master was required for *ṇatta* which must have been given in the *ṇaṭṭasālā*. *Ṇatta* was divided into four classes. (i) *amciya*, (ii) *ribhiya*, (iii) *ārabhaḍa* and (iv) *bhasola*.[7] These have been mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata along with the various types of dances,

1. *Harṣacarita*, Tr. p 199, also p. 113.
2. णदीमुखस्स मउंदादीतूरस्स···संखस्स पडहस्स य सद्दसवणं पसत्थ—NC. 3, p 101.
3. NC. 2, p 468.
4 NC. 3, p. 297
5. गीतेण विरहितं णट्टं, गीतेणं जुत्तं णाडगं—NC. 4, p. 2; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 697.
6. NC. 4, p. 199, see also—*Paumacariya*, 37. 50. and 39. 22.
7. नट्टं चउव्विहं—अंचियं रिभियं आरभडं भसोल ति—NC. 4, p. 2; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3,

but in place of *bhasola*, *bhramara* dance is mentioned there.[1] Bāṇa refers to "the actors in the wild miracle play (*ārabhaṭī*) with its passionate circular dances."[2] It seems to represent one of the dances mentioned in the NC., viz. *ārabhaḍa* dance.

Drama or the art of acting (*ṇāḍaga*) was always accompanied with music.[3] It was also known as *ahiṇīya* the art of which was to be learnt under a competent teacher.[4] The *ṇadas* have been frequently mentioned to be performing in front of the public at different places.[5] *Pekkhaṇagas*[6] or dramatic performances were enjoyed by the kings along with their queens. Further information on dance and drama is not available from the NC. However, music, dance and drama may be taken as different component parts of a major art. According to Kauṭilya also, music in wider sense includes all the four subjects—singing, playing on instruments, dancing and dramatic performance.[7]

1. नृत्तमपि चतुर्विधम्, तद्यथा—अञ्चित रिभितं आरभडं भसोलं, एते चत्वारोऽपि भेदा नाट्यशास्त्रप्रसिद्धा·—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 696; *Bhagavatī* (Bechardas ed), p 43, see also—LAI., p 185.
2 *Harṣacarita*, p. 28, text p. 51.
3. NC 4, p. 2, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p ·697.
4. अहिणओ परस्स सिक्खावणा—NC. 4, p 199; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3 p. 696.
5. णाडगादि णडयंता णडा—NC. 2, p. 468.
6. NC. 1, p.15.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

The *Niśītha Cūrṇi* being a treatise on Jaina religion provides ample material on the religious life of the people. Its contribution to Jaina religion and ethics is above par, but its importance may not be minimised in understanding the general religious and moral outlook of the country.

However, our knowledge of the other religious sects is not as exhaustive as of Jainism and there is a definite lack of sufficient data to enable us to know the internal activities of the other religions. Below, an account is given of the various religious sects of the time and a generl picture of the religious activities of the people as disclosed by the *Niśītha Cūrṇi.*

Jainism[1]

Change is the law of nature; everything in this world is changing incessantly. Yet, in the fields of religion and philosophy the changes are perceptible only after centuries. One is astonished to see the divergence of later Jainism from the original teachings of Lord Mahāvīra. Religion has its moorings in society and the action and reaction between the two are bound to affect some changes. Yet, sometimes the changes are so fundamental that no amount of reconciliation can help in sponsoring a precise explanation. Theoretically,

1 For the religious, philosophical, ethical and monastic aspects of Jainism, readers may consult my thesis "*Some Aspects of Religion and Philosophy as Known from the Niśītha Cūrṇi*" (submitted in lieu of two papers of the Post-graduate Diploma Examination of Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University, 1966). These aspects are being excluded from the present work in order to avoid the unnecessary bulk of the thesis; only a general outline of Jainism as a religion is thought advisable to be given here.

the teachings remain unchanged but the difference between theory and practice forces its upholders to invent new rules, definitions and elaboration of the religious tenets. Such an attempt of reconciliation, of making the religion more liberal and adaptable so as to suit the changed socio-religious circumstances, can be judged from the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*. The spread of Jainism in different parts of the country, the different social and religious circumstances faced by the monks, the less severe forms of asceticism and discipline due to the laxity of the monks, deterioration among its votaries itself and above all an active effort for the popularity of the faith appear to be the possible causes which led to the transformation of the religion. The spirit of adaptability, so very essential for the propagation of the faith, is bound to affect changes particularly in case of religions flourishing outside the land of their origin. Buddhism is known to have assumed various forms in the different parts of the world owing to the diverse cultural and social circumstances. Smith has observed: "While the original official Buddhism was a dry and highly moralised philosophy much resembling in its practical operation the Stoic Schools of Greece and Rome, the later emotional Buddhism approached closely to Christian doctrines in substance although not in name. In other direction it became almost indistinguishable from Hinduism."[1] This statement seems to be equally true in case of the early medieval Jainism as depicted in the NC. Originated from northern India the religion had by these centuries spread in distant regions like Andhra, Tamil, Mysore and Karnataka in the south, Gujarat in the west, towards Rajasthan and further lands. The various social circumstances pertaining to diverse social practices which confronted the Jaina monks helped a lot in changing and determining the form of the early medieval Jainism.

Jainism was quite flourishing in various parts of the coun-

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1. Smith, V. A., *Oxford History of India*, p. 55.

try, especially in the west and south from the 6th century A. D. It maintained its sway even after, but the 7th and 8th centuries proved to be the most critical epoch in the history of Jainism. With the revival of Brāhmanism (Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism) under the Nāyānaras and the Ālvaras during the later part of the 7th contury and after,[1] a very grave situation arose for the followers of the Jaina faith. The tide of revival in favour of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite faiths began to shake the very foundation of Jainism. Saint Appar in Kāñcī area and Śambandhar in the Madurā region launched their crusades against the supporters of Jaina religion. Many a Jaina king was converted to Brāhmanism, and Jainism lost much of its prestige due to the aggressive spirit of the rivals.[2] With the conversion of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I[3] to Brāhmaṇism in the 7th century A. D., Jainism suffered the most severe blow. In this context P. B. Desai has observed "Jaina law was challenged, Jaina philosophy was questioned, Jaina religious practices were discredited every where, polemics were raised, disputations were held between the supporters of the rival creeds regarding their superiority, proofs were demanded and sometimes even ordeals and miracles were resorted to. The elated victors backed by the authority of the State indulged into violent activities. The vanquished were pursued and persecuted".[4] The above account, even if exaggerated, must have been true in case of the puritanical kings, or at least it shows the disturbed state of affairs during these centuries, when both the religions were struggling hard to acquire supremacy and to propogate their religion amongst the kings and public by all possible means. Writing in such an atmosphere the commentator of the NC., who was commenting upon an early Jaina text so as to provide new rules of conduct for the Jaina monks in order to

1 Desai, P B, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 81
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, pp. 81–83.

suit the changed social circumstances, could not have done away with its impact. Mention of the Brāhmanas as *dhijjāti*[1] or *duguṁchiya* (condemned caste) apparently shows the existing spirit of hatred and rivalry between the two. Besides frequent mentions of the inimical kings (*rāyaduṭṭha*),[2] the unsafe political circumstances (*rāyabhaya*), the conditions when the Jaina monks had to live in the guise of other sects (*pāraliṁga-karaṇa*),[3] the inimical regions (*pratyantīka-kṣetra*),[4] the kings compelling the Jaina monks to touch the feet of the Brāhmins or leave the country and the various spiritual practices and miracles (*abhicārakavaśīkaraṇa*)[5] resorted to by them to counteract the royal power, the tempered disputations (*vivāda*)[6] with the heretics (*anyatīrthikās*), the attempts of killing the Jaina *ācārya*, *gaṇa* and *gaccha* clearly indicate the disturbed,[7] unsafe and critical circumstances through which the religion was passing and its votaries were struggling hard to maintain its supremacy over the royalty and the public even at the cost of their original teachings Jainism gave place to the tenets of the rival sects within its own fold and adopted social manners and customs of the different regions of the country. It is this changed form of Jainism that is disclosed in the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*. But in the field of religion, changes take place slowly and gradually and are perceptible only after centuries. The divergence in Jainism that we see during this time must have, therefore, set in quite some time before and took its positive form during this period. With this perspective let us determine the state of Jainism during these centuries, its divergence from the prestine faith of Lord

1. NC. 2, p. 208.
2. NC 2, p. 117.
3. NC. 2, pp. 325, 424.
4. NC. 2, p. 164
5. NC. 1, p. 163.
6. NC 2, p. 86.
7. NC. 1, p. 100.

Mahāvīra and the various causes and circumstances that led to this transformation on the basis of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi.*

Jainism, in the early centuries of its history, flourished and developed its centres on and around the hills and most of the shrines and monasteries were confined to the hills.[1] The monks rarely came in contact with the public which helped in keeping the purity of the faith intact and unimpaired. But by this time monks had usually started living in monasteries, *upāśrayas* or *devakulas* situated in or around the villages or at the houses of the devotees. The innumerable rules regarding proper and improper residence,[2] the exact form of behaviour with the host,[3] the abstinence from taking food of the host (*śayyātara*)[4] and the rules regarding touring within a particular region[5] show the fixed dwellings in villages to be the permanent feature of their life and it was only in the absence of residence that they spent the night in the open air.[6] Though monk is ever exhorted not to develop intimacy with the laity or the public, yet this constant contact must have brought some changes in the monastic life especially when the tendency to propagate the religion was at its extreme. The sanction given to the monks to move with the caravan while passing through long and dreary regions, to attend the religious feasts arranged by the kings, the frequent references to religious discourses and teachings given by Jaina monks (*dhammakahā*)[7] go to prove that the Jaina monks freely came in contact with the masses and tried their best to mould the spiritual, moral and mental outlook of the public. The monk was ever made conscious of the society so as not to create any doubts that may bring disfavour to the religion.

1 Desai, op. cit., p. 71.
2. NC, 2, p. 16.
3. NC 2, pp. 130-37
4. NC. 2, p. 130.
5. NC 2, p 139.
6. NC 2, p. 17.
7. NC. 2, p. 178.

The author even allows the monks to take resort to falsehood to avoid contempt (*uḍḍāharakkhaṇa*)[1] of their religion.

History of the popular religions of India is a story of royal patronage and protection and the Jaina monks too were conscious of this fact. The innumerable epigraphical and literary references speak of the royal patronage offered to the adherents of Jaina faith during different periods. In the earliest times the monks were totally barred from keeping any contact or becoming intimate with the kings or with the persons in authority. The *Nisītha Sūtra*[2] forbids a monk to see the king or to have friendship or to show profound respects to him or his officers or to attend the royal functions and ceremonies like coronation. The rules apparently remained the same even at the time of the *Cūrṇi*, yet there are sufficient grounds to believe that monks always tried to influence the kings and royal officers for enhancing the prestige of their religion (*gaurava*,[3] *prabhāvṛddhi*, *tīrthavṛddhi*).[4] Monks used to keep friendly relations with the kings,[5] State officers, king's relatives and with other influential persons to pacify the angry king, for self-protection during the time of agitation and tumult, to go out safely during the reign of a prejudiced king or at times of siege, to procure food and shelter, to influence the king at times of religious disputations and for various other needs of the Church.[6] Many of them gave religious discourses in the courts of the kings and even in their harem,[7] anything that could displease the king was to be avoided by them and the persons dear to the king (*rājavallabha*)[8] were to be initiated. References make it clear that in spite of the inherent denial to the outwardly help, the monks aspired to have good rela-

1. NC 1, p. 113.
2. NC. 4, pp. 1-18
3. NC. 2, p 262.
4. NC. 2, p 268
5. NC. 2, pp. 232-33, 267.
6. NC 2, p. 223.
7. NC. 2, p 435.
8. NC. 2, p. 181

tions with the persons in authority. Thus, during the time of great struggle and chaos the Jaina monks displayed their practical wisdom and sagacity to propagate the religion by trying to win over the royal assistance. The tendency to propagate religion sought its refuge in the royal power. "Casting away all their traditional seclusion from politics, the Jaina sages assumed the role of king-makers as in the case of the Gangas and the Hoysalas"[1] and also "that religious tenets were to be subordinated to the political exigencies when the question of rejuvenating life in the country was at stake".[2]

This regular contact with the public and the kings and its constant anxiety to popularise the faith especially in the face of the rival religions forced Jainism to imbibe some of the practices then popular amongst the different sections of society. With the spread of Jainism outside the land of its origin (Magadha) and especially in South India, Jaina monks came in contact with the people following various Āryan and Dravidian practices. Jainism too adopted some of these to make itself more acceptable. The monks were now permitted to observe local customs and practices. This new outlook is clearly visible in the words of Jinadāsa when he writes in the NC.. "Religion cannot flourish among the people who do not even know the social customs and etiquettes (*logovayāra*)".[3] The observance of local customs and practices was brought under exceptions (*avavāda*) and the monk resorting to it was not liable to be punished. Thus, even though "abstinence from food at night" is counted amongst the six vows of the Jaina monks, the NC. allows the monk to take food at night in the countries where it is a custom as in Northern India.[4] Monks were permitted to wear the clothes according to the customs of a particular region and also take food accordingly. The monks in

1. Deo, S. B., *History of Jaina Monachism*, p 133.
2. Saletore, op. cit., p. 7; vide—Deo, op. cit., p. 133.
3. लोगोपयारं पि ण जाणंति, लोगोवयारविरहितेसु वा कुतो धम्मो—NC. 2, p. 171.
4. NC 1, p. 154.

the Jaina order were recruited from the various parts of the country and from different strata of the society. Thus, even though trying their best, they could not do away completely with the habits or practices to which they were habituated since birth. In such circumstances fair tendency to show considerable latitude is clearly visible in every aspect of life. For instance, during the period of long fasts the *Cūrṇi* allows consumption of liquid and dry food (*vaṁjaṇa-mīsa* and *āyaṁbila*) by the monks of Sindhu and Komkana respectively, as the people in the former country were not accustomed to take dry food due to the eating habits of their region.[1] This spirit of adaptability and eagerness to change for the welfare of the Church may be summed up in the words of Somadeva :

"It is legitimate for the Jainas to follow any custom or practice sanctioned by popular usage so long it does not come into conflict with the fundamental principles of the Jaina faith or the moral and disciplinary vows."[2]

Besides these changes in the general life of the monks, fundamental changes can be seen in the form of Jainism which are in strange contradiction to the original tenets of the religion.

Jainas had questioned the existence of God as the Creator of this world and believed that there was no overlord commanding this universe. According to them, Loka (world) was never created, nor it is supported by any being of the name of Hari or Hara[3] and is in a sense eternal, yet they believed in the eternity of the soul, the state of perfection and the possibility of each soul achieving it by its own efforts. This rationalistic atheism of the Jainas was in direct opposition to the theism and "the priest-ridden ritualism of the Brāh-

1 NC. 1, p 145.

2. सर्वं एव हि जैनानां प्रमाणं लौकिको विधिः । यत्र सम्यक्त्वहानिर्न यत्र न व्रतदूषणम्— *Yaśastilaka*, Book VIII, Section 34; Handiqui, op. cit, p. 332.

3. Sharma, S. R., *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, p 132.

maṇas.'"[1] But when the question of propagation and popularity of faith came forward, Jainism had to accept certain changes. "Jainism was placed in the midst of religious schools whose advocates believed in single sovereign god-heads such as Śiva, Viṣnu, Śakti etc. Consequently, in the atmosphere of competition the champions of Jaina religion and philosophy had to make suitable adjustments, without violating the fundamentals, in the minor details of their philosophical concepts and religious terminology with a view to capture the popular mind and maintain the impression among its adherents that their faith was in no way inferior to that of others".[2] Thus, the founder of the religion and its various preachers became their gods, and the perfected souls called Jinas, who were the ideal beings for the monks, became the active supporters to affect the salvation of their devotees. Mention of Mahāvīra as the 'Lord of Universe' and the worship of the images of Jina (*jiya padimā*)[3] in the NC. are the testimony to this fact. The images were given ceremonial bath (*ṇhavaṇa-pūyā*),[4] and were decorated with flowers and garlands. Besides the worship of Mahāvīra, the worship of Arhats,[5] Tīrthankaras,[6] Siddhas and Ācāryas[7] (Paramesthi-pūjana) became the general feature of their life. As Bühler has observed : "Since the religious doctrine gave no other support, the religious feeling of laity clung to it, Jina and with him, his mythical predecessors became gods."[8] Here it is to be marked that this religious devotion was not confined to the laity but was common amongst the monks[9] as well. In the NC. mention of various Ācāryas going in all directions to bow to

1. Ibid.
2. Desai, op. cit., p. 88
3. NC. 2, p. 362
4. NC. 2, p. 137
5 NC. 1, p. 1.
6. NC. 2, p 137.
7 Ibid.
8 Vide—Sharma, op. cit., p. 142.
9. NC. 2, p. 113

the images of Jina (*Jina-pratimā-vandana*) also corroborates the same fact.[1]

With the godhood of its founder and preachers, their worship in the temple (*jiṇaghara*)[2] also came in vogue. The temple-worship was the most common feature of the religious life during this period, and we see innumerable types of early medieval temples belonging to different sects.[3] The Jainas did not lag behind their Brāhmana counterparts in this field and as is evident from the various epigraphs, many of the kings liberally gave grants for erecting Jaina temples during this time. Fergusson has remarked. "Jaina temples were really prayers in stone."[4] In the NC. monks are frequently mentioned as going for the reverence in the temple (*caitya-vandana-nimitta*).[5] The temples must have been cleaned (*pamajjana*), washed (*āvarisaṇa*), anointed with clay (*uvalevaṇa*), decorated with flowers (*pupphovayārappadāna*) and lighted with lamps (*dīvaga-pajjālana*).[6] The princes as well as the public made grants for these provisions. By giving place to such religious rites and ceremonies the adherents of Jainism proved that the popularity of a religion is based on its ceremonial aspect which has a direct appeal to the common man.

The animistic or the hylozoistic theory of Jainism[7] is the basis of the entire Jaina philosophical, moral and ethical system. According to Jaina conception, the entire cosmos—plants, trees, birds, animals, water, earth etc.—is possessed of life. This animistic theory of the Jainas "was of course

1 NC. 2, p 362.
2. खेत्तओ जिणघरादिसु—NC. 3, p 65.
3. खेत्तओ भग्गघरादि रुद्दघरं महादेवघरं दुग्गमादि घरा च—NC 4, p. 301; NC 3, p. 14.
4. Fergusson, J, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p 26.
5. NC. 2, p 113.
6 NC. 2, p 334.
7. Sharama, op. cit., p 131.

quite different from the animistic belief in the existence of spirits in trees, stones, and running brooks"[1] which are to be propitiated by various types of sacrifices. But with the spread of Jainism in Dravidian countries some of its factors were embibed by Jainism and the belief in the spirits, ghosts and evil omens infected even the Jaina followers. In the NC. various types of spirits and ghosts like the *bhūtas*,[2] *jakkhas*,[3] *piśācas*,[4] *rākṣasas*,[5] *gujjhakas*,[6] *vāṇamaṁtaras*[7] and the female hobgoblins like the *putanā* (*puyaṇā*)[8] and *dākinī* (*dāgiṇī*)[9] have been frequently mentioned who were largely worshipped and propitiated. Belief in obsession by the *jakkhas* was widely spread amongst the people and it had deeply affected the monastic life also. Very frequently the Jaina monks and nuns may be observed being obsessed by the *jakkhas* (*jakkhāittha-jakkhaggaha*) and later treated with exorcism (*bhūyavijjā*).[10] A monk obsessed by the *jakkhas* was not to be punished even for committing the most heinous crime.[11] All the exceptions to the general rules could be resorted to by an obsessed monk. The *jakkhas* were believed to have two fold influence—beneficial and evil, and they were propitiated to yield the beneficial aspect.[12]

With the belief in the existence of ghosts and spirits there arose the desire to master the occult lores—Mantravidyā, Tantravidyā—to counteract the effects of the same. The knowledge of occult lores became the source of prestige amon-

1. Ibid, p. 133
2. NC. 1, p. 9, NC. 3, p 186
3. NC 1, p. 21, NC. 3, p 141.
4. NC. 3, pp 185–86.
5. NC 3, p. 186.
6. NC. 4, p. 224
7. NC 1, pp. 8–9; NC 4, p. 13.
8. NC. 3, p. 408
9. NC. 2, p. 81.
10. NC. 1, p. 67, NC. 2, p. 262, NC. 3, p. 102.
11. NC 2, p 2.
12. NC. 2, p. 308, NC. 3, p. 416.

gst the monks and many of them took pride in styling themselves as Mantravādins. Though barred from having any contact with the heretics, the Jaina monk is allowed in the NC. to follow a Pāsattha or a Parivvāyaga for learning the occult lore.[1] The Jaina Ācāryas and the monks versed in the art of exorcism have been mentioned as visiting the nunnery to treat the nuns obsessed by the *jakkhas* or spirits.[2] Thus, during this time of rivalry and competition and in consonance with the belief prevailing in the efficacy of incantation amongst the other religious schools in the country, the Jaina preceptors and monks appear to have indulged in claiming proficiency in this craft also

From the earliest times caste or social status was no bar to a person for entering the Buddhist or Jaina order. Even during these centuries we find the monks being recruited from all the strata of society, i. e. the kings, the businessmen, the agriculturists, the carpenters etc;[3] yet the influence of their earlier social status had far reaching effects on their monastic life. We find special privileges being given to the kings, caravan-leaders and sons of the State-officers etc.,[4] who wanted to embrace the monastic life. The growing tendency for the propagation of the Church restricted the monks from having any contact with the people condemned by the society. In the NC. as seen before,[5] people have been divided into two groups—*ajuṁgita* and *juṁgita*[6] or *sambhojika* and *asambhojika*,[7] the latter being the people condemned by society with whom the Jaina monks were to keep no contact. The whole theory has been summed up by the author when the says : "The prestige

1. NC. 1, p. 141.
2. NC. 2, p. 262.
3 NC. 2, p 235.
4. NC 2, p 90.
5. See—Chapter III.
6. NC 2, p. 243
7. NC. 2, p 324.

of the Religion, i. e. Church, enhances by avoiding contact with the people condemned by society."[1]

Besides these external relations, divisions arose among the Jaina community itself. The distinction between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras was the most substantial one and between them arose various subsects due to the trivial differences regarding religious practices. The *Marāthī Jñāna Kośa* enumerates not less than eighty-four subsects among the Jainas[2] These facts justify the observation of Smith : "though the teaching theoretically condemns the caste, in practice the modern Jaina is as fast bound as his Hindu brothers in the iron-fetters of the caste,"[3] and this spirit of exclusiveness must have prevailed during these centuries.

This spirit of exclusiveness seems to be at its extreme in their relation with the heretics. Though fundamentally believing in the universality of the soul, the philosophical tenets were put aside and a devout Jaina was expected to avoid contact with the people following a different faith. Even when emphasizing on the essential moral virtues like affection, charity, donation, humility etc., their feeling seems to have been restricted only to the coreligionists (*sāhammiya*).[4] Charity towards the people following the non-Jaina faith or the praise of their religious doctrines was a serious mistake on the part of a Jaina monk.[5] The monks were directed not to live in the company of heretics or search or eat food in their company[6] and should avoid taking food from the houses where heretics were in majority.[7] It was believed that the company of the persons not following the Mahāvratas and Aṇuvratas, i. e. not believing in the Jaina faith, was against

1. लोगे दुगु छिया जे, ते परिहरंतेण तित्थस्स वुड्ढी कता भवति—NC. 2, p 244.
2 *Marāhi Jñāna Kośa*, p. 2323.
3. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 54.
4 NC. 1, p. 19.
5 NC. 1, p 15.
6. NC 2, p 118.
7. NC. 2, p. 253.

the injunctions of Tīrthaṅkaras. The monks of the Jaina order were to keep themselves away from the ascetics of different orders such as the Parivrājakas, Śākyas, Ājīvakas and Caragas.[1] Perhaps the reason behind this exclusiveness was to avoid friction and disputes and keep their followers unimpressed from the religious doctrines of the other faiths, especially at a time when the rival sects were also trying their best to convert others into their respective faiths. Thus, by their conservativeness by keeping themselves away from the social intercourse, the Jaina lawgivers of the time tried to maintain the integrity of the Church. K. K. Handiqui has rightly remarked "Isolation rather than amity based on free social intercourse was the object aimed at in inter-communal relations "[2]

These and various other changes seem to have taken place in the early medieval Jainism, and it would not be unjust to say that by giving place to the tenets of rivals within their own faith and by showing a spirit of adaptability in case of the outer differences, Jainism saved itself from being extinct from the country and is still holding its grounds down to these centuries.

Brāhmaṇic Religion (Śaivism And Vaiṣṇavism)

The ancient Vedic religion had by now rejuvenated in form of new Brāhmanic religion or Hinduism comprising in its fold the various sects and subsects, and the ceremonial or ritualistic aspect took the upper hand in religion. Though still holding its central position among the trinity of gods, the worship of Brahmā, however, could not acquire an independent form In the NC. also no mention is made of the cult of Brahmā or the temples dedicated to him. All other Brāhmanic sects worshipping the different deities and following diverse practices may be grouped under two main heads, viz. Śaivism and Vaisnavism.

1. NC. 2, p. 118.
2 Handiqui, op. cit., p 331.

Śaivism

Śaivism was the most flourishing religion of the time. Immense contemporary poetic literature and archaeological remains reveal a new activity and vigour under the Śaivite pantheon during the 7th and 8th centuries.[1] Worship of Lord Śiva had become a general feature of the life of the Indians (even though not related to any particular sect)[2] and Śaivism in itself developed various sects and subsects due to the different attributes of Śiva. Four main schools of Śaivism, viz. Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika, have been mentioned by Vācaspati, the commentator of Śaṅkara.[3] Rāmānuja in a later period describes the four sects of Śaivism, although the Kārukasiddhāntin is called by the name of Kālāmuha[4] Distinction among these sects was based upon their way of worship or conception of Śiva. While the former two may be said to have constituted the Śavism proper, the latter two were the extremists who "represented the grosser forms of Śaivism or rather Tāntricism."[5] Of the various classes of the Śaivitic ascetics mentioned in the NC. the *Sarakkhas* or *Bhautas* and *Paṇdaramgas* must have belonged to the former group, while the *Kāpālikas* and the *Haḍdasarakkhas* (Skt. *Asthisarajaskas*) are to be identified with the latter group.

Śaivities And Pāśupatas—Rudra, the ancient deity of the Rgvedic pantheon, had by now given place to more popular names and conceptions like that of Śiva,[6] Paśupati[7] or Mahādeva.[8] Although the *Rudragṛhas* or the temples of Rudra have

1 Ghatege, A. M., *Classical Age*, p. 409.
2. Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp 168–69
3. Ibid., p. 172.
4 Ibid.
5. Handiqui, K. K., *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 334.
6 NC. 1, p. 10.
7. NC 1, p 105.
8. NC. 1, pp. 146–47.

been alluded to in the text, yet the synonym *Mahādevāyatana*[1] given for the same proves the accuracy of the above statement. The worship of Śiva with all its ceremonial aspects extracted the utmost devotion of the people from all strata of society. High Brāhmana priests as well as the people belonging to the lower section like the Pulindas were the ardent devotees of Śiva. The story is cited of a Brāhmana and Pulinda, both worshipping the image of Śiva, but the Pulinda is mentioned to have reached an exalted status due to his sincere devotion.[2] Bāṇa also mentions the evening worship of Śiva as a general feature of the time.[3] In the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti Mālatī can be seen going to the temple of Śiva on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month.[4]

The worshippers of Śiva could be divided into three classes—(i) clericals or ascetics, (ii) their lay-followers, and (iii) the ordinary people who had no connection with any particular sect[5] The *Sarakkhas*[6], the *Bhautas* and the *Pan laramga*[7] ascetics of the NC. may be included into the first group of the Śaivite ascetics. Describing the chief Pāśupata practices Somadeva records their particular habit of besmearing the body with ashes in the morning, noon and evening.[8] The *Sarakkha* ascetics mentioned in the NC. may be identified with the Pāśupatas on similar grounds I-Tsing also refers to a class of ascetics who anointed their body with ashes and tied up their locks of hair.[9] The *Sarakkhas* used to store the ashes for the rainy season as a part of their ritualistic parapher-

1. रुद्दघर महादेवायतनमित्यर्थं —NC 1, p. 146
2 NC. 1, p. 10.
3 Like the sweat of Sandhyā in her delight at Śiva' worship–*Harṣacrita*, Tr. pp 10.
4. *Mālatīmādhava*, Act III
5 Bhandarkar, op. cit , p. 169.
6. NC. 3, pp. 101, 160, 532, 584.
7. NC. 2, p 119, NC. 3, pp. 123, 414.
8. Handiqui, op. cit., p 199.
9 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 2

nalia.[1] They were also called as *Bhoya* or *Bhauta* (besmeared with ashes) because of the same reason. In the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* they are mentioned as a class of the *Tāpasas*[2], while the *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi* identifies them with the *Paṇḍaraṁga* ascetics.[3]

Paṇḍaraṁgas, as the name itself suggests, were a class of the Śaivite ascetics.[4] Their sect appears to have been a popular one irrespective of the fact that they were highly despised and even compared with the Śūdras by the Jaina monks.[5] *Paṇḍaraṁga* ascetics can be seen assembling at a place during the festival of Indra (*Iṁdamaha*).[6] Although held in contempt by the Jainas because of their personal rivalry,[7] they must have been held in respect by the public who easily provided them with food and shelter.[8] *Paṇḍaraṁgas*, as noted above, have been identified with the *Sarakkha* ascetics in the *Anuyogadvāra Cūrṇi*. Difference between these two sects is not clear, although both were undoubtedly the Śaivite ascetics.

1. जहा सरक्खस्स दगसोआगमहिडियाए—NC 3, p 160 The text at this place in the present edition of the NC appears to be corrupt. In the press copy of the NC prepared by Muni Punya Vijaya the text runs as: जहा सरक्खा सरक्खस्स मगह करति दगसोयरामहियाए वाहिया (1, p. 271), which is more reliable and correct; also see—*Bṛh Vṛ* 4, p 1153.
2. तापसा सरजस्का:—*Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p. 456.
3. *Anu Cū* , p 12
4. Describing the *Panduraṁga* or *Paṇḍaraṁga* ascetics J. C. Jains remarks "According to the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, however, the disciples of Gosāla were called *Paṇḍarabhikkhu*" (LAI , p. 207). Here it is to be noted that the *Paṇḍaraṁgas* and the *Paṇḍarabhikkhus* are mentioned as two different classes of ascetics in the NC., whereas the latter are called the disciples of Gosāla, i. e. the Ājivakas, the former may be identified with the Śaivite ascetics.—NC. 3, pp. 123, 414; NC 2, p. 119.
5. सूद्रा इति पडरगादिशिष्यत्वमभ्युपगता वमनि—NC. 2, p. 119.
6. NC. 3, p. 123.
7. पडरगादिएसु सद्धिं हिंडतस्स पवयणोभावणा भवति—NC. 2, p. 119.
8. NC. 3, p. 123.

Apart from the ascetics there were the householder-devotees of Śiva. Mention has also been made of 'food' or 'offerings' brought to the Śiva temple by the householders; and the Jaina monks could accept the same in times of dire necessity.[1] These devotees have been specifically called as householders (*gihattha*),[2] and may be regarded to have been the lay-devotees of this faith. Yuan Chwang in his account mentions at several places the temples of Maheśvara at which the Pāśupatas worshipped, while at one or two places they are mentioned as residing in the temple.[3] As conjectured by R. G. Bhandarkar, "those residing in the temple must have been the ascetics, while the others were the householder disciples of the Pāśupata faith."[4]

Probably outside this sectarian circle the worship of Śiva formed a part of the religious life in general. Śivagrhas or the temples of Śiva, though primarily built for the Śaivite ascetics, were sometimes resorted to even by the heretics. In an ancient story cited in the text, Ajja Suhatthi, the famous Jaina Ācārya, is alluded to have resided in a *Śivaghara* in the country of Saurāstra.[5] Various terms like *Ruddaghara*, *Rudda-nikeyana*, *Mahādevāyatana*,[6] *Śivaghara*[7] etc. used in the text indicate the richness of the Śaivite temples during this time. The fact is further supported by the archaeological remains. Many a temple of Śiva constructed by the early Cālukyas and the Rāstrakūtas, the Kailāśa and the cave temples of Ellora, may be taken to show the worship of Śiva in Mahārāstra from the 7th century A. D.,[8] while it flourished as a State-religion under the Maitrakas of Valabhī who style themselves as 'in.

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1. रुद्दातिघरेसु दिवसणिवेदित गृहीतव्यमित्यर्थः—NC. 1, p. 146.
2. Ibid.
3. Vide—Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 167–68.
4. Ibid.
5. NC. 2, p. 362.
6. NC. 1., pp. 146–47.
7. NC 2, p. 362.
8. Bhandarkar, op cit., p. 169.

unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of the god,' viz. *Maheśvara* or *Parama-Maheśvara*[1] during the same centuries.

Kāpālikas and Haddasarakkhas (Asthisarajaskas)—The sect of the Kāpālikas has been frequently mentioned in the NC.,[2] and it was highly despised by the Jaina monks and society.[3] The Kāpālikas (literally, furnished with a human skull) are described as besmeared with ashes and residing at despised or impure places, and their presence was disgusting because of their extreme uncleanliness.[4] They were also regarded as untouchables (*asprśya*) because of the same reason.[5] In his work *Yaśastilaka* Somadeva prescribes a bath for the Jaina monks when they happen to come in contact with a Kāpālika.[6] The Kāpālikas are shown as keeping ashes (*bhoya*) and other fragrant substances like *guggula* (most probably for worship) in a particular object called *sikkaga-nantaga* (a type of covering used to cover something) as a part of their ritualistic paraphernalia [7]

Another similar sect mentioned in the NC. is that of the *Haddasarakkhas.*[8] They have been identified with the Kāpālikas in the commentary of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya.*[9] They were akin to the Kāpālikas on the basis of the similar practices

1. *Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII* (A. D. 766–67 A D.); also grants of Dhruvasena II and Kharagraha II—CII. III, pp. 180, 182, 185.
2. NC 2, pp. 38, 227, 244, NC. 3, p. 252.
3. NC 2, p 244
4. मइगानिसु वि सुमाणमानिण्सु...असुनिठागासेविणो एते कापालिका इव—NC. 2, p 227
5. कावलिया इव लोए दुगुंछिता भवति, अस्पृश्या इत्यर्थ.—NC. 2, p. 244.
6. Handiqui, op cit., pp. 356-57.
7. सिक्कगणगओ व पोणओ इक्छाइण...जारिसं कावालिस्स भोयगुग्गुनि—NC. 2, p 38. In the press copy of NC. prepared by Muni Puṇya Vijaya the text runs as कावालियस्स भोयगुग्गुलियाणं (1, p. 64) which appears to be more correct.
8. NC. 2, pp. 207, 227, NC. 3, pp. 81, 585.
9. *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 788.

attributed to them or could have been an independent sect like the Kālāmuhas who shared almost similar practices.[1] Both the Kāpālikas and the Haḍḍasarakkhas were characterised alike with uncleanliness and impurity. The Jaina monks were directed to remain pure and clean in the presence of others lest they might be thought even worse than the Haḍḍasarakkhas [2]

The Kāpālikas and the Haḍḍasarakkhas were supposed to be versed in various supernatural powers and magical practices [3] In the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra also, the gambler Maheśvaradatta, who later became a Kāpālika, is mentioned as an expert in *garuḍa-mantra*—the mystic formula for curing the snake-bites.[4] These sects were versed in the art of divining the treasure-troves (*nihi*) by practising certain mystic formulas like the *Mahākāla-mamta* [5] In the *Yaśastilaka* also the Śaiva Haraprabodha is shown to have been an expert in divining the underground treasures.[6] Certain heinous practices have always prevailed amongst the Kāpālikas, but the references in the text make it clear that their sect was a popular one during this time.

These accounts of the NC are firmly supported by the literary as well as archaeological sources In the

1 Kālāmuhas were also a sect akin to the Kāpālikas Their six distinctive marks were eating food in skull, besmearing body with ashes of a dead-body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the god seated therein (Bhandarkar, op cit, p 181) According to Dakshina Ranjana Shāstri, the Kāpālikas in a later period gave up bearing the *kāpāla* (skull) although they were still styled as Kāpālikas But the other section of the Kāpālikas, which did not approve of this retrograde step, kept on bearing *kāpāla* and were called *Kālāmukha* or *Kālāvadana*—'The Lokyatikas and the Kapalikas', *IHQ*, Vol 7 (1931), pp 125-37

2. असुइत्तणेण वा हड्डसरक्खादिजणेहिं अनिसंनिया भणेज्जा—NC 3, p 81

3. "अट्ठि" त्ति हड्डसरक्खा ते विज्जाते मतेण वा अभिओगज्जा—NC 3, p. 585, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 789.

4. *Samarāiccakahā*, Book IV.

5 NC. 3, p. 387.

6. *Yaśastilaka*, Bk IV; Handiqui, op. cit., p 89.

Mālatīmādhava (Act 5) of Bhavabhūti, the Kāpālika Aghoraghanta is shown as attempting to sacrifice Mālatī before the goddess Karālā or Camuṇḍā. It can also be judged from the Bhavabhūti's statement in Act I of the same text that Śrīparvata, a holy mountain in Kurnol district (Madras Presidency) on the Krsnā river, was a famous centre of the Kāpālika cult. The existence of the Kāpālika cult can also be judged from the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (7th century A. D.) and the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Ksemakīrti.[1] Yuan Chwang also refers to the Kāpālikas as one of the important sects of the time.[2] In the copper-plate inscription of Nāgavardhan (7th century A. D.), the nephew of Pulakeśin II, a grant is recorded for the worship of god Kāpāleśvara and the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple,[3] which also proves the existence of the sect of the Kāpālikas during the 7th century A. D.

All the four main sects of Śaivism have thus been alluded to in the NC., and frequent references to these sects reveal them to have been the greatest and the most hostile rivals of Jainism during this time.

Vaiṣṇavism

Though less popular than Śaivism, Vaiṣnavism was quite flourishing in Northern as well as Southern India. Vaiṣnavism in the form of Bhāgavatism received a philip under the Gupta rulers during the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.,[4] and

1 Vide—Hindiqui, op cit , pp 356–57.

2 Watters, op. cit , I, p. 148.

3 Bhandarkar, op cit., p. 168 The Kāpālikas and the other similar sects like the Kālāmuhas were styled as Mahāvratin (observers of the great vow), as the greatness of their vow lay in their extraordinary character. See—Jagadhara's commentary on *Mālatimādhava* (sect. I); *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 2 81; *Yaśastilaka*, I. 115, Handiqui, op. cit., p. 358.

4 Sircar, D C., *Classical Age*, p. 414.

even after their decline it remained popular amongst the masses. In South, the worship of the various forms of Viṣṇu became popular due to the extreme devotion of the Ālvara saints during these centuries.[1] Visnu, the sun-deity of Ṛgveda, was reborn in the Purāṇic pantheon with exuberant power, and the cults of Visnu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa etc. represented its various streams. From the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, we do not get a fair picture of Vaiṣṇavism. While the hostile attacks of the author are usually directed against the Śaivites[2] and the Buddhists[3], the author is remarkably silent about the Vaiṣṇava faith.

At one place, however, mention is made of the image of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇādipadimā*)[4] which shows that images of Nārāyana must have been made and worshipped by its devotees. At several places in his works Bāṇa refers to the images of Nārāyaṇa.[5] From the inscriptions also we learn that in the Vaiṣṇava cave at Badami excavated under the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman I in 578 A. D. an image of Visnu was installed and provision was made for the *Nārāyaṇa-bali* or offering to Nārāyaṇa.[6] The *Sirigharas* or the temples dedicated to the goddess Śrī have been alluded to in the text[7], which shows that the worship of Visnu with his consort Srī or Lakṣmī must have been in vogue and that temples were also erected for their worship.

Amongst the various forms of Visṇu mention is made of Vāsudeva who fled from the prison of Kamsa even in the presence of its guards.[8] The story of the origin of the Bhallī

1. Ghatege, A. M, op. cit, p 409
2. See—Śaivism.
3. See—Buddhism
4. तत्थ उड्डाहो एतेहिं पक्खिप्पीयताए णारायणादिपडिमा ज्ञामिता—NC 4, p 59.
5. Agrawala, V. S., *Kādambarī: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, pp. 1-8, 34, 118.
6. Bhandarkar, op cit., p. 61, also Handiqui, op. cit., p. 365.
7. NC 2, pp. 360, 362.
8. NC. 2, pp. 415-16.

Tīrtha, the place where Kṛṣṇa was killed, has also been narrated in the text.[1] The cult of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, which existed in India at least from the 2nd century B. C., must have existed down to these centuries as can be judged from certain inscriptions belonging to the 5th century A. D. The stories mentioned in the text, however, do not describe Vāsudeva as a central figure of any religion, although they clearly reveal the prevalence of various stories and fables regarding the wonderful feats of Kṛsna. Among the associates of Vāsudeva mention is made of Baladeva, also known as Mukunda, and the festival in honour of Mukunda, i. e. *Mukundamaha*[2], has also been referred to. It can be thus safely concluded that the worship of Visnu in various forms and in its ritualistic or ceremonial aspects was quite popular, although Vaisṇavism as such did hold subsidiary position to Śaivism.[3]

Buddhism

Buddhism having touched its peak during the early centuries of the Christian era was now on its way to decline, although it had not actually faded particularly in western India. In Valabhī, as noted by Yuan Chwang, Buddhism had considerable influence at the court and had a good adherence in Saurāstra.[4] I-Tsing also observed a large number of Buddhist monks residing in the monasteries near Valabhī, while Valabhī itself was a famous Buddhist centre of learning during these centuries.[5]

The most hostile attacks of our Jaina author are directed against the Buddhists[6] who appear to have been their active rivals on account of their ideological differences with the Jainas. The Buddhist monks are virtually mentioned as enemies

1. NC. 2, p 416.
2. NC 2, p. 444,
3. Handiqui, op. cit., p. 371.
4. Watters, op. cit., II, pp. 109, 246
5. Takakusu, op. cit, p. 177.
6. For Buddhist monks see also—Sakka-classes of Ascetics.

(*paccatthiya*, *pratyanīka*) or thorns (*Buddha-kaṇṭaka*) towards whom no charity was to be displayed by the householders.[1] The doctrine of Buddha is mentioned as a false belief born out of ignorance (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*),[2] and his followers were ignorant people who believed in false principles mistaking them to be the ultimate knowledge or truth.[3]

The Buddhist monks were considered to be unaware of the true religion even after shaving their head and renouncing their home.[4] According to the author, the Buddhists could not be regarded as *bhikkhu* (lit. one who lives on begging) because they did not observe proper rules in regard to their begging or in accepting the alms.[5] This laxity regarding the matters of food on the part of the Buddhists has been hinted at by various Jaina scholars. Hemacandra in the 12th century goes even to the extent of saying that the religion of Buddha is excellent indeed, its essentials being a soft bed, rice-gruel in the morning, boiled rice at noon, drinking bouts in the evening and sugarcandy at night [6]

The Buddhists were highly criticised by the Jainas for their laxity in the matters of meat-eating Buddha had allowed three kinds of meat as pure which could be taken by the Buddhist monks without incurring any guilt.[7]

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1. इमे पच्चत्थिया प्रत्यनीका बुद्धकण्टका मा पुणो गच्छति,·· दाणं च ण देति—NC 3, p 415.
2. शाक्यादिमानन प्रतिपन्ना मिथ्यादृष्टि —NC 3, p 101, मिथ्यादृष्टि शाक्यादिशासनस्थ —*Bṛh Vṛ* 2, p 561.
3. जो मक्काभिमता अन्नाणा णाणबुद्धीते गाहंति—NC 3, p 269
4. मुंडा कुडुंबवासे ण वासंति रत्तपडा एत धम्म सच्च ण याणंति, कहमन्नस्स कहिस्संति—NC. 3, p. 429
5. भिक्खाहारो वा भिक्खू, "एवमन्ये रक्तपटादयोऽपि—भिक्षवो भवन्ति"। ··न ते भिक्षव ···येन तेषां भिक्षावृत्तिर्निरुपधा न भवति—NC. 4, p. 272.
6. Hemacandra's commentary on *Yogaśāstra*, 4.102 9-10; also Devasena's *Bhavasaṅgraha*, 68-69, Handiqui, op cit, p. 373
7. For three kinds of pure meat see—Chap IV—Meat-diet It is, however, to be noted that only the Hīnayānist Buddhists accepted the three kinds of pure meat, while the Mahāyānists totally abstained from meat-diet,

The author fiercely attacks the Buddhist practice of meat-eating by giving the logic that those who are in the habit of taking meat are to be called meat-eaters even when they take the vegetarian food; as such the Buddhists are the confirmed meat-takers [1] He further ironically remarks: "To say that a person is vegetarian in the absence of the meat-diet is quite similar to the belief that a person is not addicted to killing so long there is nothing to kill, or one is a celibate in the absence of the company of women, or one abstains from meat and wine in the absence of the two, or that one is not a thief so long there is nothing to steal" [2] The same spirit of contempt and hatred regarding the Buddhist practice of meat-eating can be judged from the works of the other Jaina authors. Somadeva in his *Ya'astilaka* contemptuously remarks· "Buddhists are the first among the communities which prescribe eating of flesh," [3] and also "How can a wise man respect the Buddhist who is addicted to flesh and wine ?" [4] It can be thus deduced that there must have been some laxity in matters of food and drink on the part of the Buddhists for which they were severely criticized by the contemporary Jaina authorities

However, in spite of these unfavourable remarks from the pen of our Jaina authors regarding the Buddhists and their faith, it can be judged that the Buddhists commanded certain respect amongst the nobility and the public. Many of the Brāhmanical kings, though hostile towards the Jainas, were tolerant towards the Buddhists The sanction given to the

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and some of them even abstained from milk and milk products (Watters, op. cit., I, p. 57, Watters, op cit., II, p. 191, Handiqui, op. cit., p. 373). The author of the NC., however, makes no such difference and meat-eating is described as a habit of the Buddhist monks in general.

1. णिप्पिसा वयं जाव पिसियस्स अलाभो त्ति—NC. 4, p. 273.
2. NC 4, pp. 272–73.
3. *Yaiastilaka*, VI. 2, p. 267; Handiqui, op. cit., p. 371.
4. *Yaiastilaka*, VII. 24; Handiqui, op. cit., p. 372.

Jaina monks to wear Buddhist apparel in order to save themselves where the king is in the latter's influence also testifies the same fact.[1] The same rule was to be implemented in the region where the Buddhists were held in esteem.[2] Although charity shown towards the non-Jaina monks, i. e. the Buddhists, was thought to be futile in its results by the Jainas, yet the Jaina monks in the NC. are directed not to speak so where the public is in the influence of the Buddhists.[3] Animate disputations took place between the two in which the Jainas are always shown as coming out victorious. However, in spite of these various references to the Buddhist monks, no mention is made of the Buddhist Sangha or the monasteries inhabited by the Buddhist monks. From other sources we learn that "the integrated strength of the Buddhists had tumbled down by now, and Buddhism in India was carrying a life and death struggle with Jainism and newly revived Brāhmaṇism or the Hinduism."

Classes of Ascetics

In India no higher achievement was thought to be possible without the renunciation of the worldly life. A conglomeration of the different sects of ascetics was thus to be found, the presence of which may be easily attested to from the contemporary accounts of Yuan Chwang,[4] I-Tsing[5] and Bāṇa.[6] In

1. बौद्धादिना राज्ञोऽनुमतेन परलिङ्गेन स्थिता…वृषभा युक्तियुक्तवचोभिस्त राजानं प्रज्ञापयन्ति—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 879
2. सव्वहा असति उवकरणस्स सक्काति-परलिंगकरणं कज्जति—NC. 2, p. 325.
3. NC. 1, p. 113.
4. Describing the various types of ascetics Yuan Chwang remarks· "The Bhūtas, the Nirgranthas, the Kāpālikas and Jūlikas or Chundikas (ascetics with matted hair) are all differently arrayed". Some wear peacock's tails, some adorn themselves with a necklace of skulls, some are quite naked, some cover the body with grass or blades, some put out their hair and make a top knot coil. Their clothing is not fixed and their colour varies."—Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 148.
5. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 2.
6. See the description of the hermitage of the sage Divākaramitra where

the NC. these various types of ascetics have been grouped into two main groups, viz. the Brāhmaṇas (*Māhaṇa*) and the Śramaṇas (*Samaṇa*).[1] The first group must have consisted of the Śaivite and the Vaiṣṇavite ascetics (see—Brāhmaṇic Religion), while the latter consisted of the five classes of the Samanas, viz. (i) Niggamtha, Sāhu or Khamana, (ii) Sakka, (iii) Tāvasa, (iv) Geruā or Parivāyaga and (v) Ājīvaga.[2] (i) Niggamtha-Niggamtha Samanas were the Jaina monks who followed the path or order of the Jainas (*Jaina-Śāsana*,[3] *Jaina-tantra*).[4] Various sects and subsects existed among the Jainas during this time The seven schisms (*ṇihṇava*) led by Jamāli, Tissagutta, Āsāḍha, Assamitta, Gamga, Rohagutta and Gotthāmāhila have been referred to in the Niśītha Bhāsya.[5] Schism between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras[6] was the most substantial one which was finally recognised by this time. Digambaras (sky-clad or naked) have been usually called as Boḍiya,[7] while the Śvetāmbaras were known as Seya-vaḍas [8] (*Śvetapata*) or Seya-bhikkhus.[9] Among the Śvetāmbaras also there were the monks following the Jinakalpa or the Sthavirakalpa mode of life[10] and also the ascetics of the lower grade known as Pāsattha, Kusīla, Osanna, Samatta and Nitiya because of their respective mental attitude or spiritual status. Pāsatthas were originally the followers of Pārśva, but the term Pāsattha later came to be used in the sense of

ascetics of all the sects lived and studied together.—Bana, *Harṣa-carita*, Tr. p. 236, text pp. 265–66.

1. NC. 1, p. 13.
2. समणसद्दो इमेसु ठितो—णिग्गंथा साधू खमणा वा, सक्का रत्तपडा, तावसा वणवासिणो, गेरुआ परिवायया, आजीवगा—NC. 3, p. 414.
3. NC. 1, p. 17.
4. NC. 3, p. 390.
5. *N. Bha.* 5596-5624 (NC. 4, pp. 101-3).
6. Ibid.
7. NC. 4, p. 102.
8. NC. 1, p. 78
9. NC. 3, p. 422; NC. 4, p. 87.
10. NC. 1, p. 131.

the ascetics of loose moral conduct.[1] However, in spite of the internal differences, they were known to the public by a common name, i e. Nigganṭha. There was a well developed fraternity consisting of the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen Bound by innumerable rules they strived for the good of humanity and for their own salvation (see also—Jainism).

(ii) *Sakka*—Sakkas or Śākyas were the Buddhist monks who were known as Bhikku,[2] Taccaṇṇiya[3] and Rattapaḍa (Raktapaṭa)[4] also Raktapaṭa was a common appellation of the Buddhist monks of the time Bāṇa also frequently mentions the Buddhist monks as clad in red attire Divākaramitra, the Buddhist sage, is shown as clad in a very soft red attire as if he were the eastern quarter of the sky bathed in the morning sun-shine, teaching the other quarters to assume the red Buddhist attire.[5] Harṣa also tells the sage Divākaramitra that "at the end when I have accomplished the design, she (Rājyaśrī) and I will assume the red garments *(kāṣāyāni)* together."[6] In the *Kādambarī* also the Buddhist nuns are described as wearing clothes, red like the skin of the ripe Tāla tree.[7] The Buddhist monks and nuns utilized the bark of the Arjuna (teak) and Kandala (plantain) tree for dying their clothes in red colour.[8] As noted before, though the large Buddhist monasteries were mostly desroyed by now, the Buddhist monks could be found everywhere in the country. The references make it clear that they were respected by the kings as well as by the public.

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1. NC. 2, p 286.
2 NC 1, p. 113.
3 NC 3, pp. 246, 253, 325
4. सक्का रत्तपडा—NC 3, pp 414, 429; NC. 1, p. 17, 113, 121; NC. 2, p. 116.
5. *Harṣacarita*, Tr. p. 237.
6 Ibid , p. 258.
7. परिणततालफलवल्कललोहितवस्त्राभिश्च रक्तपटव्रतवाहिनीभिः······तापसीभिः—*Kādambari*, p. 208.
8. तव्वण्णियवत्थरागणिमित्तं अज्जुणं कदलयमादियाणं छल्लिविधीणं—NC. 3, p. 160.

(iii) *Tāvasa*—Tāvasa Samaṇas were the hermits or forest-recluses who lived in the forests (*vaṇavāsiṇo*)[1] practising meditation and various other spiritual austerities. They were people following the third stage of life, i. e. Vānapraстha. The Tāvasas lived in the Āśramas situated amidst the forests and their head was called Kulapati.[2] Various classes of the Tāvasas have been mentioned in the Jaina[3] and the Brāhmaṇic texts of which the following have been referred to in the NC. :

(i) *Govvaiya*[4]—They were the worshippers of cow who had taken the *vrata* of *gocaryā*. According to the ancient texts, this *vrata* consisted of imitating the ways of a cow.[5]

(ii) *Disāpokkhi*[6]—They were a class of the Vānaprasthī Tāvasas who sanctified all the sides by sprinkling water before gathering flowers and fruits. A graphic description of this class of the Tāvasas is to be found in the description of Śiva, the royal sage of Hastināpura who retired from life by joining the order of the Disāpokkhiya Tāvasas.[7]

(iii) *Paṁcaggitāvaya*[8]—They were the worshippers of the five-fold fire who practised paṁcaggi penance by burning fire on the four sides and facing the sun above their head. Bāna describes the sage Harīta as having faced (lit. drunk) the scorching rays of the sun[9] during his course

1. तावसा वणवासिणो—NC. 3, p. 414.
2. NC. 3, p. 425; NC 2, p 328.
3. *Ovāiya Sūtra*, 38, p 170, *Bhagavati Sūtra*, 11. 9. 417.
4. गोव्वयादिया दिसापोक्खिया पंचग्गितावया पंचगव्वासणिया एवमादिया सव्वे कुव्वया—NC. 3, p. 195.
5. *Papañca Sūdani*, 3. 1000, see—Agrawala, V. S., *Prācīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma*, p. 102.
6. NC. 3, p. 195.
7. *Bhagavati Sūtra*, 11. 9. 417; see also—Sikdar, J. C., *Studies in the Bhagavatisūtra*, p. 176.
8. NC. 3, p. 195, also p. 179.
9. Agrawala, V. S., *Kādambarī : Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 48.

of the paṁcaggi penance. Pārvatī also practised severe penances like the paṁcaggi penance in order to please Śiva.[1]

(iv) *Paṁcagavvāsaṇiya*[2]—They were the Tāvasas who lived upon the five products of cow, viz. milk, curd, clarified butter, urine and cowdung.[3] According to the ancient Brāhmaṇic texts, the *pañcagavya* prepared from the five products of cow and mixed with water in which the *kuśa* blades have been placed, was taken for the purification of many lapses.[4] In the commentary of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* we find a Brāhmana being given the *pañcagavya prāyaścitta* for atoning the sin of eating the flesh of dog to keep himself alive in a desert.[5]

These penances undertaken by the Tāvasas being that of an opponent faith have been termed by our author as 'false penances' (*kutava*) or 'false vows' (*kuvvaya*).[6] Yet their popularity among the Tāvasa Samanas may be fairly attested to from the contemporary Brāhmaṇical sources.

(v) *Parivvāyaga*[7]—Parivvāyagas or Parivrājakas or the wandering ascetics were to be found in a large number. They were the masters of the sacred Brāhmanic lore[8] They were also called 'Geruā-ascetics' since they wore the clothes dyed with red-clay (*dhātumattiya-ratta*). Bāṇa also describes the Parivrājakas of the Pāśupata sect as clad in red clothing,

1. शुचौ चतुर्णां ज्वलता हविर्भुजां शुचिरिमना मध्यगता सुमध्यमा । विजित्य नेत्रप्रतिघातिनीं प्रभामनन्यदृष्टि. सवितारमैक्षत ।।—*Kumārasambhava*, 5 20.
2. NC 3, p. 195.
3. पञ्चगव्यं क्षीरं दधि तथा चाज्यं मूत्र गोमयमेव च—SED , p. 308
4. गोमूत्रं गोमयं क्षीरं दधि सर्पि. कुशोदकम् । निर्दिष्ट पञ्चगव्य तु पवित्र पापनाशनम् ।। —*Pārāśara Saṁhitā*, X 1. 28–33. See also—*Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, III. 314, Kane, op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 773.
5. *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p. 319.
6. NC. 3, pp. 179, 195.
7. NC. 2, pp. 207, 332, NC 3, pp. 414, 420.
8. According to the *Ovāiya Sūtra* (38, p. 172), the Parivvāyagas were usually versed in the four Vedas, Itihās, Nighaṁṭu, six Vedāngas and six Upāṅgas.

i. e. clothes dyed with red-clay.[1] Various articles like the *matta* or *dagavāraga*, *gaḍuka*, *āyamaṇī*, *loṭṭiyā*, *ullaṁkaya*, *vāraga*, *caddaga*, *kavvaya* etc. were kept by the Parivrājakas.[2] Of these the first two were the earthen-ware pots, while the rest of them appear to have been wooden pots mant for keeping water. *Sikkaga*,[3] or a net-work of strings for hanging anything in, is mentioned as a necessary object of their ritualistic paraphernalia.[4] These wandering monks were usually held in respect by the public as can be judged from the fact that the Jaina monks were directed to keep the paraphernalia of the Parivrājakas in order to save themselves during the unusual social or political circumstances.[5]

(vi) *Ājīvaga*—The sect of the Ājīvagas (Ājīvakas) was an ancient one and Gośāla, the third leader of the sect, was a contemporary of Lord Mahāvīra. They were naked ascetics and because of their nakedness, they have usually been confounded with the Digambaras by the modern scholars.[6] Even I-Tsing during the 7th century A. D. makes the same mistake. They undoubtedly belonged to an independent sect and were usually versed in the eight-fold *mahānimittas* which they acquired through rigorous penances. Doctrines of the Ājīvagas have nowhere been explained in the NC. Yet, constant references to this sect reveal them to have been a popular sect of the time.[7] In his two astrological works, the

1. *Kādambarī*, p 108.
2. मत्तो दगवारगो गडुअओ आयमणी लोट्टिया कट्ठमओ, उल्लंकओ कट्ठमओ, वारओ चड्डय कव्वयं तं पि कट्ठमयं—NC. 3, p. 343
3. सिक्कगं पसिद्धं, जारिस वा परिव्वायगस्स—NC. 2, p 38.
4. *Sikkaga* and *sikkaganaṁtaga* are mentioned in the NC. as two different objects which were kept by the Parivrājakas and the Kāpālikas respectively.—NC. 2, p 38.
5. परिव्वायगादि परलिंग करणयो करेज्ज तत्थ सिक्कएणपयोजणं—*Bhagavatī Ṭīkā*, 1. 2, p. 87.
6. Kalyāṇavijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagavāna Mahāvīra*, p. 281.
7. NC. 2, pp. 118, 200, 332; NC. 3, p. 414.

Bṛhajjātaka[1] and the *Laghujātaka*,[2] Varāhamihira mentions them as one of the seven important sects during this time. Their existence in the subsequent centuries is also proved by Śīlāṅka[3] (circa 876 A. D.), Halāyudha[4] (950 A. D.) and Somadeva[5] (959 A. D.). According to the NC., the disciples of Gośāla[6] were known as Paṇḍurabhikkhus,[7] while they have been identified with the Digambaras by Śīlāṅka.[8]

The word 'Ājīviya' (Skt. Ājīvika) originally denoted a class of mendicants who followed special rules with regard to their livelihood.[9] We are told that Gośāla and his father followed the profession of a *maṁkha*, i. e. earning the livelihood by exhibiting pictures. In the NC. we find a *maṁkha* earning his livelihood by exhibiting pictures depicted on a canvas or wooden-board (*maṁkha-phalaga*) and telling their religious significance to the people, i. e. the causes of happiness and suffering.[10] Being satisfied by his explanations people provided him with different varieties of food and other requisites. According to the commentary of the *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, a *maṁkha*, who keeps a clean wooden-board (*phalaka*)

1. *Bṛhajjātaka*, XX.
2. *Laghujātaka*, IX. 12.
3. *Sūyagaḍa Ṭīkā*, 1. 3. 38.
4. *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā*, II. 189-90.
5. *Yaśastilaka*, VII. 43, p. 406, see also—Handiqui, op. cit, pp. 284, 373.
6. Three leaders of the Ājīvaka school, viz Nanda Vacca, Kesa Saṁkicca and Makkhāli Gosāla are known to us, of which nothing except the names of the first two are known. According to A. S. Gopani, the Buddhist references to the Ājīvaka school point only to the Ājīvaka school headed and led by Gosāla and not the first two.—"Ājīvaka School—A New Interpretation", *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. III, pt. I (1941), p. 55
7. आजीवगा गोसालसिस्सा पंडरभिक्खुआ वि भण्णंति—NC. 3, p. 414.
8. *Sūyagaḍa Ṭīkā*, 1. 338.
9. Sikdar, op. cit., p. 425.
10. ताहे सो मंखो तं दिसिं गंतुं वक्ष्याए मंखत्तणेण मंखफलकहत्थो गओ। सुहं दुक्खं धम्मं कहेंतो संथवं करेति—NC. 3, p. 428; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, p. 65.

having beautiful pictures depicted on it and is proficient in explaining their religious connotations, is respected by all the people.[1] Ājīvakas were thus one of the important sects of the time and they earned their livelihood by following the profession of exhibiting pictures.

Besides these five classes of the Samanas, there were a number of other ascetics who may be classified here as under :

(i) *Caraga*—Caragas were the wandering monks who moved about in groups even when begging the alms and taking their food.[2] They are described as ascetics practising severe penances like the *pañcaggi* penance.[3] The austerities undertaken by the Caragas are mentioned as false-practices or material practices (*davva-caraṇa*)[4] which afforded no help in elevating the soul. The male and female ascetics of this sect were condemned by the Jainas for their loose moral character and the Jaina monks were directed to keep themselves away from them.[5] In the *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi* they are mentioned as direct disciples of Kapilamuni (*Kapilasūnu*),[6] while according to the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, they were the followers of Kaṇāda,[7] the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system of Indian philosophy.

1. मंखो नाम चित्रफलकव्यग्रहस्तः, तस्य च यदि फलकमुज्ज्वलं भवति ततो लोकः सर्वोऽपि तं पूजयति—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p 532, also NC. 1, p 165.
2. आ चरगाचरण णाम चरगादीणं, अहवा तेसिं पि जो आहारादिगिमितं तवं चरति तं दव्वचरणं—NC. 1, p. 2. Caraka mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* also denotes a wandering mendicant—*Vedic Index*, p. 250.
3. चरगादियाण य जे पञ्चग्गितवादिया वयविसेसा—NC. 3, p. 179.
4 See—above note 2.
5. ते तु अगभिगयधम्मा तत्थ चरगादिएहिं वुग्गाहिज्जंति⋯ ⋯चरियादियाहिं अगारीहिं वा इत्थीहिं⋯बंभचेराहगा—NC. 2, p. 207, चरिगाओ अगगंराओ वा कुवटाओ चरित्तभेगा हवेज्ज— NC. 2, p. 208; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 893.
6 *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*, p. 265, *Paṇṇavaṇā Ṭīkā*, 20, p. 405.
7. चरका कागादा घाटीवाहका वा—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 456.

(ii) *Dagasoyariya*—Dagasoyariyas (Skt. *Dagaśaukarikas*) were a class of the Parivrājakas.[1] They were called *Sui*, *Suti*[2] or *Śucivādī*, since they emphasised upon the cleanliness and purity of the body and mind. An instance of their extremist views has been recorded in the *Ācārānga Cūrṇi* which describes a Dagasoyariya mendicant as taking bath sixty-four times being touched by others.[3] According to Malayagiri, they were the followers of the Sāmkhya system of philosophy.[4]

(iii) *Isaramata*[5]—The followers of this sect believed in the existence of God. They may be identified with the Naiyāyikas according to whom God was Creator of the Universe.[6] They have been called *Aiśvarakāraṇikas* by Bāṇa.[7]

(iv) *Kavila*[8]—They were the followers of Kapila, the founder of the Sāmkhya philosophy.

(v) *Ulūka*[9]—They were the followers of Ulūka, i. e. Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśesika philosophy. They must have adhered to the doctrines of their Master.

(vi) *Kucciya*[10]—*Kucciyas* were the ascetics who grew beard and moustaches. They cannot be definitely identified with any particular sect. According to Pt. Nathuram Premi, however, Kūrcaka monks belonged to the Digambara sect.[11]

(vii-viii) *Ātmāstitvavādī and Vetuliya or Nāstitvavādī*—Another classification of the ascetics has been made in terms of those who believed in the existence of soul and others who denied

1. परिव्वायगा दगसोयरी—NC 3, p 429; *Bṛh. Vṛ* 3, p 798.
2. सुती दगसूगरिया—NC. 3, p. 585; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 3, p. 788
3. *Ācārānga Cūrṇi*, p 21.
4. *Piṇḍa Niryukti Ṭīkā*, 314.
5. NC. 3, p. 195
6. Upādhyāya, B D., *Bhāratīya Darśana*, p. 274.
7. *Harṣacarita*, Tr. p. 236, text pp. 265-66.
8. NC. 1, p. 15, NC. 3, p 195.
9. NC. 1, p. 15.
10. कुच्चहरा कुच्ची—NC. 3, p 585, *Bṛh Vṛ* 1, 2822.
11. *Anekānta*, August-Sept., 1944.

the same. Ātmāstitvavādins were those who believed in the existence of soul[1] and as such they are to be identified with the Jainas.[2] In the early Jaina texts they have been mentioned as Kriyāvādins, as Kriyā denoted the existence of soul. Contrary to these were the Nāstitvavādins who denied the existence of soul. They were called Vetuliya, as according to them, every object was of the momentary existence, hence it was not the same at the next moment (*vigata-tulla-bhāva*).[3] They are to be identified with the Buddhists who uphold the doctrine of *Kṣaṇika-vāda.*[4]

(ix-x) *Soyavādī and Asoyavādī*—Another classification divides the ascetics into two main groups : those who strived for cleanliness *(sui-śuci)*[5] and those who stressed upon the uncleanliness of the body *(asui—aśuci)*.[6] This classification seems to have been based upon the general attitude of a particular sect towards cleanliness or physical purity. As such the Parivrājakas like the Dagaśaukarikas may by included in the former group, while the ascetics like the Kāpālikas and the Haḍḍasarakkhas constituted the latter group.

Supernatural Powers and Magical Practices

Belief in various supernatural powers and magical practices was potent in India from the ancient times. Through austerity and continence the sages could acquire various supernatural powers, the application of which for any worldly or material gain was deemed to be the greatest impediment in the way of salvation. According to the NC., the penance practised only for salvation is a fruitful one[7] and that the austerities get crippled by the frequent use of supernatural

1. सत शोभनो वादी सद्वादी, आत्मास्तित्ववादीत्यर्थ.—NC. 3, p. 196,
2. LAI., p. 212.
3. Sen, A. C., *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 29.
4. विगयतुल्लभावे वेतुलिया—नास्तित्ववादिन इत्यर्थ:—NC. 3, p. 196.
5. सर्वमनित्य क्षणिकवादिनाम्—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 1, p. 60.
6. NC. 3, p. 494
7. NC. 1, p. 2.

powers.[1] In spite of these injunctions, a study of the text clearly reveals as to how deeply such practices had affected the general life of the monks who aspired to acquire these powers not only for salvation but even for petty and trifle objects like procuring food,[2] healing diseases, to overpower the enemy,[3] to ward off evil spirits, and for innumerable other purposes which could be somehow or other helpful for the upkeep, integrity and stability of the Church.[4] The examples of certain great Ācāryas like Ajja Vairasāmi,[5] Ajja Khauḍa,[6] Siddhasenāyariya,[7] Kālagajja,[8] Palittāyariya[9] and Samitāyariya[10] cited in the NC. are memorable in this context.

Various terms like *ṛddhi*, *laddhi*, *vijjā*, *maṁta*, *cuṇṇa* and *joya* mentioned in the text denote these superhuman qualities.[11] The monk versed in the same was styled as *atiśaya-sāhu*, i. e. possessing superhuman qualities or powers.[12] *Rddhi* (*iddhi*) was a potentiality of the spiritually advanced souls which they acquired either by knowledge or by penance The person possessing this power could assume any form of the body

1. बिज्जाजीवणप्पयोगेण य तवो गिव्वहती—NC. 3, p 192.
2 NC. 1, p. 121
3. NC 1, p 65
4 NC. 1, p. 163
5 Ajja Vairasâmi is mentioned to have protected the Church by means of *Paḍavijjā* during the great famine in Uttarâpatha.—NC 1, p 21.
6. विज्जासिद्धो जहा अज्जखउडो—NC. 1, p 22, NC 3, p. 58.
7 Siddhasenâyariya is stated to have created magical horses by following the instructions laid down in the *Jonipāhuḍa*, an important work on magic—NC. 2, p 281, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, 2681.
8 NC 3, p. 59. Kālagajja is mentioned to have been versed in Jotisa and Nimitta (astrology and science of prognostication)
9 Pālittāyariya is described to have cured Murunḍa of his severe headache with the power of *maṁta-vijjā*—NC. 3, p. 423
10 NC 3, p. 425
11. ततो विज्जाए चुण्णेहिं वा वसी कज्जति, णिमित्तेण वा—NC 2, p. 83, also NC. 2, p. 183.
12 NC 1, p 163.

at will (*viuvvaṇa*), could fly high in the sky (*ākāsagamaṇa*) or acquire *vibhaṁga-ṇāṇa* (a type of clairvoyant knowledge in which knowledge was not totally free from false perception).[1]

The term *vijjā* is frequently used to denote various spiritual powers (i. e. charms and magics) and a person possessed of the same was called *vijjāsiddha.*[2] *Vijjā* could be accomplished by performing certain mystic rites incurring severe penances (*sasāhaṇā*). It was presided over by a female deity. The *maṁta* (mystic formula) on the other hand could be accomplished by reciting (*paḍhaṇa-siddha*) and had a male deity to preside over it.[3] A story narrated in the text alludes Pālittāyariya to have cured king Muruṇḍa of his severe headache by chanting certain mystic formulae (*maṁta*).[4] Mahākāla is mentioned as another mystic formula by reciting which the underground treasures (*ṇihi*) could be detected.[5]

Cuṇṇa and *joga* are also other practices frequently mentioned in the text *Cuṇṇa* was the consecrated powder used for fascination or conjuration (*vaśīkaraṇa*). *Joga* could be applied in various forms, sometimes body was rubbed with substances like sandalwood powder and paste, or the clothes were perfumed with fragrant substances, or the consecrated paste was applied to the feet (*pādalevajoga*) which enabled a person to walk on the surface of water.[6] With the help of *joga* the inauspicious things (*dūbhaga*) could be made auspicious (*subhaga*) or *vice-versa.*[7] It could be accomplished

1. इड्ढित्ति इस्सरियं, तं पुण विज्जामतं तवोमतं वा, विउव्वणागासगमणविभंगणाणादि ऐश्वर्यं—NC 1, p. 17.
2. NC 1, p. 22; NC 3, p 58.
3. इत्थिअभिहाणा विज्जा, पुरिसाभिहाणो मंतो । अहवा—सोवचारसाधणा विज्जा, पढिय-सिद्धो मंतो—NC. 3, p. 385.
4. NC. 3, p. 423.
5. NC. 3, p. 387.
6. NC. 3, p. 425.
7. दूभगो सुभगो कज्जति, सुभगो वा दुब्भगो कज्जति जोगेणं—Ibid. Baṇa also mentions *siddhajoga* which was an infallible charm.—*Harṣacarita*, Tr. p 267

by means of a power (*vijjā*) or by other means and was practised for the purpose of fascination or cunjuration (*vaśīkaraṇa*), to end or generate enmity (*viddesaṇa*), to cause annihilation or destruction (*ucchādaṇa*), to walk over the surface of water by applying it to the feet (*pādaleva*), to make a person invisible (*antaddhāṇa*) by applying the collyrium to the eyes (*aṁjaṇajoga*) and for various other purposes.[1] The Kulapati of Bambhadīva is mentioned to have walked on the surface of water by applying *pādaleva* to the feet,[2] while two *Khuḍḍagas* or Jaina monks are described to have eaten the food of king Candragupta Maurya by making themselves invisible (*antaddhāṇa*) with the help of the *aṁjaṇajoga* during the great famine which broke during his reign.[3]

Severe penances were required for acquiring these powers or *vijjās*. Some of the *vijjās* could be acquired only in a desert or dreary place like the burial ground or a cemetery[4] and on a prescribed day like *cautthī* (4th day), *atthamī* (8th day) or *cauddasī* (14th day) of the month.[5] These powers could be lost on uttering a falsehood. The trident (*tidaṇḍa*) of a Parivrājaka, which was hanging up in the sky without any support, is mentioned to have fallen down the moment he uttered a lie regarding his preceptor from whom he had acquired this spell.[6] The monk is exhorted to use *vijjā*, *maṁta* or *cuṇṇa* only as last resorts for warding off evil, and is advised to settle any dispute by means of *aṇusatthi* (lecture), *dhammakahā* (religious teaching) or *bhesaṇa* (threat).[7] However, constant references to these spells and powers in the text clearly reveal that the last and ultimate resort for acquiring

1. वसीकरणविद्देसणुच्छादणापादलेवतद्धाणादिया जोगा बहुविधीता—NC. 3, p. 385.
2. NC. 3, pp 425–26.
3. NC. 3, pp 423–24.
4. कालचउद्दसिरत्ति साहेति मसाणे—NC. 1, p. 16.
5. NC. 1, p 16.
6. NC. 1, p. 12.
7. NC. 2, p. 181.

anything difficult was the application of these supernatural powers.

Various types of powers or *vijjās* have been alluded to in the text. *Oṇāmaṇi* and *uṇṇāmaṇi* or the powers which made a thing fall down and rise upwards or assume the same position, are mentioned as two *vijjās* by means of which Harikeśa could steal the mangoes from the well-guarded orchard of the king Seṇiya.[1] King Seṇiya is also described to have learnt these two powers from Harikeśa by occupying a seat lower to him.[2] A *śrāvaka* is mentioned to have gone to the burial ground on the night of *kāla-caturdaśī* to acquire the power by means of which one could rise high in the sky (*ākāśa-gata*).[3]

During the famine, epidemic or such other emergencies when the monks could not procure food, they acquired it by means of *abhicāraga* (conjuration)[4], *abhiyoga* and *vaśīkaraṇa* (fascination and subjugation)[5] or in the absence of these powers through *tālugghāḍiṇi-vijjā* (the power which unlocks the locks)[6] or through *usovaṇi-vijjā* (the power which induces sleep)[7] or through *antaddhāṇa-vijjā* by concealing themselves with the help of this power.[8] The practices of *abhicāraga* caused by the chanting of the mystic formulae (*mamta*) was allowed for the safety of the *kula*, *gaṇa*, *samgha* or *gaccha*.[9]

Among other *vijjās* mention is made of the *ābhogiṇi-vijjā*[10] by means of which one could know the mind of others.

1. तस्स य दो विज्जातो अत्थि । ओणामणी, उण्णामणी—NC. 1, p 9.
2. NC. 1, p 10.
3. NC. 1, p. 16.
4. अभिचारकं णाम वसीकरण उच्चाटणं वा—NC 1, p 163.
5. अभियोगो वसीकरण, तं पुण विज्जाचुण्णमंतादीहिं—NC. 1, p. 121.
6. ताहे तालुग्घाडणीए विज्जाए तालगाणि विहाडेऊण—Ibid.
7. ऊसोवणिविज्जाए य ओसोवेउं गेण्हंति— Ibid.
8. जेणंजणविज्जादिणा अद्दिस्सो भवति तं अंतद्धाणं—Ibid.
9. कुल-गण-संघकज्जेसु समुप्पण्णेसु अभिचारकं कायव्वं—NC. 1, p. 163.
10. NC. 2, p. 463; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1252.

Through *mānasi-vijjā*[1] one could acquire any object as desired by him. Pāsatthas were usually supposed to have been versed in this charm.[2] *Thaṁbhiṇi-vijjā*[3] was another power which could stupify the mind of a person and also caused the magical arresting of any feeling or force. This power was used by the Jaina monks to suppress the forces of water, fire or air or in order to protect themselves from thieves or wild beasts.[4] A Jaina monk is described to have acquired sweet meats from a layman by stupifying his mind by this power.[5] The monk possessed of the *uvasāmaṇa-laddhi* was supposed to be capable of pacifying an angry king.[6]

Gaddabhī-vijjā is mentioned as another spell which was accomplished by king Gaddabhilla of Ujjayinī.[7] In this spell a *vāṇamaṁtarī* assumed the form of a female donkey and by listening her braying the forces of the enemy were overpowered with grief, vomitted blood, lost their senses and fell on the ground.

Padavijjā[8] was another power by dint of which Ajja Vairasāmi is mentioned to have protected the *saṁgha* during the severe famine which broke in Uttarāpatha in his time. *Gorī*,[9] *gāṁdhārī*[10] and *mātaṁga-vijjā* were the other powers which were highly despised by the people because of the filthy process which underlied their acquisition. But once acquired

1. माणसिविज्जा णाम मणसा चिंतिऊण ज जाव करेति त लभति—NC. 1, p. 139
2. Ibid.
3. थभणि विज्ज मतेऊण थंभेज्ज—NC 1, p. 164
4. NC. 1, p 164.
5 NC. 3, p 422
6. उवसामणलद्धिसंपण्णो वा साहू स तमेव रायाणं उवचरति—NC. 1, p. 140.
7 NC. 3, p 59
8. NC. 1, p 21.
9 NC. 4, p. 15 *Gorī* and *Gāṁdhārī* are mentioned as two of the four important spells in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrni* (p. 161) and *Bṛh. Vṛ.* (1, 2502); *Gorī* and *Gāṁdhārī vijjā* have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* also (Āranyaka Parva, 221, verses 1–77).
10. *Gāṁdhārī* is mentioned as a charm possessed by the Gaṁdharvas.—*Sūyagaḍāṁga* (Trans. by Jacobi, SBE., Vol. XLV, p. 367).

these powers were capable of fulfilling all the desires of an individual.[1] There were also counter-spells known as *padivijjā*[2] which were used to counteract the effect of a certain power or charm. The Jainas, the Buddhists[3], the Pāsatthas,[4] the Śaivite ascetics[5] etc. are all mentioned to have been versed in these practices at various places in the text, which shows the practice of these supernatural powers to be a common feature of all the religious sects of the time.

Besides these superhuman powers, certain magical practices like *koua, bhūi, pasiṇa, pasiṇā-pasiṇa, nimitta* etc. were also in vogue[6]. Various magical or mystic rites like the custom of taking bath at cemetery or cross-roads by the childless woman or those giving birth to still-born children for the purpose of acquiring a son were termed as *koua-kamma.*[7] *Bhūi-kamma* consisted of the rites like besmearing the body with consecrated ashes as a protective charm.[8]

In *pasiṇa* the question was asked from a deity, and *suviṇa-pasiṇa* and *amguṭṭha-pasiṇa* are mentioned as two varities of the same in which the deity either appeared in dream or ascended on the nail of the thumb.[9] *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* is mentioned as a treatise on this subject.[10] In *pasiṇā-pasiṇa* the question was answered by the deity who appeared in dream.[11]

1. गोरि-गंधारीओ मातगविज्जाओ साहणकाले लोगगरहियत्तणतो दुहविण्णवणाओ, जहिट्ठकामसपायत्तणओ य दुहमोया—NC 4, p. 15, एसो मायंगीए भगवइए विज्जाए साहणणिमित्तं कप्पेनि—*Cauvvana-mahāpurusa-cariyam* (Prakrit Grantha Parishad, Varanasi), p. 228.
2. NC 3, p. 422.
3. Ibid.
4 NC. 1, p. 139.
5. NC 3, p. 585; NC. 3, p. 584, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 3, p. 796.
6. NC. 3, p. 383.
7. णिंदुभादियाण मसाणचच्चरादिसु ण्हवणं कज्जति—Ibid.
8. रक्खाणिमित्तं भूती, विज्जाभिमंतीए भूतीए—Ibid.
9. अंगुट्ठपसिणा किज्जति, सुविणा-पसिणा वा—NC. 2, p. 184.
10. पसिणा एते पण्हवाकरणेसु पुव्वं आसी—NC. 3, p. 383.
11. सुविणयविज्ज कहियं कधितस्स पसिणापसिणं भवति—Ibid.

According to another practice, the consecrated tiny bells were rung around the ear of a person and the deity ascended there whispered the answer in his ear. This practice was also called as *iṁkhiṇī*.[1] *Nimitta* is mentioned as another practice by which the person could acquire the knowledge of the past, present and future.[2]

There were also the *aiṁdrajālikas* (conjurers and jugglers) and the *vaitālikas* (those worshipping *vetāla*) who were versed in various feats. The inanimate objects could be displayed as animate with the power of *iṁdajāla*,[3] while the *vaitālikas* are described as propitiating the ghost occupying the dead body (*vetāla*) by performing sacrifices and other mystic rites.[4] These practices were fraught up with danger as the slightest mistake on the part of the performer could bring his complete disaster.[5]

Besides, according to the popular practice, the person desiring to bring the downfall of his enemy or king was asked to make the image of that person (*vāullagakaraṇa*). It was then shot down at the centre by chanting certain mystic formulae.[6] This rite was believed to cause the destruction of the person concerned. *Kadagabamdhas* (amulets) and *vaśīkaraṇa-suttas* (threads for conjuration) were tied around the neck or hand of the person to be conjured or secured.[7]

1. विज्जाभिमतिया घंटिया कण्णमूले चालिज्जति तत्थ देवता कीधति··· ··स एव इंखिणी भण्णति—Ibid.
2. NC. 3, p. 383
3. अचित्त वा भस्मादिकं सचित्त वदति, करेति इदजालादिणा—NC. 3, p 193.
4. मंत्रवादिना होमजावादीहिं वेताल साहयिस्सामि त्ति आहूतो—NC. 3, p 526.
5. Ibid.
6. जो साहु-संघ-चेतित-पडिणीतो तस्स पडिमा मिम्मया णामंकिता कज्जति, सा मतेणाभि-मनिऊण मंमदेसे विज्झति—NC. 1, p. 65.
7. अवसा वसे कीरति जेण त वसीकरणसुत्तय (NC. 2, p. 223). In the *Kādambarī* of Bāna Vilāsavati is also shown as wearing the charmed amulets (*mantrakaraṇḍaka*).—See Agrawala, *Kādambarī : Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 71, also Kālidāsa, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, Act. 7.

The popular practice of tying the horns of buffalo around the neck of the children by the Persians has also been referred to.[1]

Festivals

In India most of the festivals and festivities are some way or other related to religion. A great many festivals were observed by the Jaina and the non-Jaina society, some of which were common to both, while the others like *pajjusaṇa*,[2] *atthāhiya*[3] etc. were observed by the Jainas alone.

Festivals were celebrated in honour of the deities, due to the changing seasons, and towards innumerable other sacred objects. The *Niśītha Sūtra* mentions various festivals held in honour of *Imda, Khamda, Rudda, Mugumda, bhūta, jakkha, ṇāga, thūbha, ceiya, rukkha, giri, dari, agada, taḍāga, daha, ṇadī, sara, sāgara* etc.[4] A festival was usually observed on the erection of a temple, on the installation of an image in a temple or when a well was dug.[5] Every new enterprise was thus accompanied with proper religious ceremonies.

Great Festivals (*Mahāmaha*)—Of these various festivals (*maha*), four festivals were of greater importance and were styled as *mahāmaha* or great festivals. These were : (i) *Imdamaha,* (ii) *Khamdamaha,* (iii) *Jakkhamaha* and (iv) *Bhūyamaha.*[6] These four great festivals were successively celebrated on the four full-moon days (*puṇṇimā*) of *Āsādha, Āsoya, Kattiya* (Kārtika)

1. NC. 2, p. 396.
2. NC. 3, p. 131.
3. NC 3, pp. 81, 141.
4. NS. 8 14; NC. 2, p. 443. Similar lists of festivals are found in the various Jaina and Buddhist texts.—*Ṇāyādhammakahā*, 1. 25 (ed. by Vaidya,); *Mahāniddesa*, 1, p. 89, also p. 310, *Milindapañho* (ed. by Vadekara), p. 190.
5. देवउलजण्णग-तलागजण्णगादि पत्थ वा देज्ज—NC. 2, p. 143; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 5, p. 1539.
6. NS. 19 11, NC. 4, p. 226.

and *Cetta* (Caitra).[1] People utilized their time in preparing delicious food or arranging different sorts of conserts; even the Jaina monks were directed to suspend their studies during these festival days.[2] These festivals lasted for a number of days and ended on the full-moon day of their respective months. Along with the full-moon days the four *padivayā* days (i. e. the first full-moon day or the next day after the full-moon) of the above mentioned months were also included in the festival days, as people could receive or visit their friends and relatives who could not be visited on the previous day of the full-moon festival.[3] Of these four great festivals we get some more details regarding the *Imdamaha*.

Iṁdamaha—*Iṁdamaha*, or the festival held in honour of the deity Indra, was usually celebrated on the full-moon day of Āsāḍha.[4] In the Lāṭa country, however, it was celebrated on the full-moon day of Śrāvana.[5] According to another tradition, during the reign of king Sālivāhaṇa of Paiṭhāṇa *Iṁdamaha* was celebrated on the 5th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, because of which the date of the Jaina festival *Pajjusaṇa* was changed by Ajja Kālaga from the 5th to the 4th.[6]

1. NC. 4, p 226. According to the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (p. 315) also the *Skandamaha* was observed on the full-moon day of Āsoja.
2. रंधण-पचण-खाण-पाण-नृत्य-गेय-प्रमोदे च महता महामहा तेसु जो सज्झाय करेइ तस्स चउलहुं—NC. 4, p. 226.
3. अण्णं च महदिणेसु वाउलत्तणतो जे य मित्तादि ण सारिता ते पडिवयासु—Ibid
4. आसाढीइंदमहो—N. Bhā. 19. 6065, also NC. 4, p 226. Among the Rājapūtas even now the festival of *Indra* is observed in the month of Āsāḍha.—Agrawala, V. S., *Prācina Bhāratiya Lokadharma*, p. 38.
5. इह लाडेसु सावणपोण्णिमाए भवति इंदमहो—NC. 4, p. 226. A festival must have been observed on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa, as according to Alberuni the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa was observed as a holiday held in honour of Somanātha and the people used to feed Brāhmaṇas on that occasion. (Al-Beruni's India, Eng Tr by G. Sachau, Turbnir Oriental Series, London, 1914, II. 176, 179) Its relation with *Iṁdamaha*, however, is not clear.
6. NC. 3, p 131.

According to Abhayatilaka Gani, the commentator of Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya*, the festival of *Indrapūjā* lasted from the 8th day of the bright half to the full-moon day of Āśvina.[1] The date of the *Indramaha* thus seems to have differed in different regions from Āsāḍha to Śrāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, or Āśvina, although the festival was evidently observed in honour of the rain-god.

During the *Iṁdamaha*, the image of the deity was installed at a place called *Imdatthāṇa*,[2] around which the people assembled for worship. Young girls on this particular day used to pray Indra to grant them the boon of leading a happy married life (*sobhagga*).[3] The king as well as the subjects from different towns and villages brought their offerings (*bali*, *uvahāra*) to the god and the ascetics were given a sumptuous feast.[4] Even the Jaina monks were allowed to partake the food given in such feasts in case it was arranged by public munificence.[5] The ascetics of the different Brāhmanic sects like the *Paṇ la-raṁgas* and *Sarakkhas* can be seen assembling at a place during the Indra festival.[6] This made it difficult for the Jaina monks to acquire a proper shelter during the festival days.[7] Their studies, as noted before, were to remain suspended during the festival days to keep them in harmony with the local sentiment.[8]

1. *Dvyāśraya*, III. 8. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa*, 16-37) also the festival of Indradhvaja is mentioned to have been celebrated on the full-moon day of Āśvina.
2. अण्णया इदमहे इदट्ठाण गतो—NC. 3, p. 243. According to the ancient Indian terminology, the word *ṭhāna* denotes the sacred place assigned to a deity.—Agrawala, V S , op. cit., p. 97.
3. इद मग्गति वर, सोभग्गं च अभिलस ति—NC. 3, p. 243
4. इदादीण महेसु जे उवहार णिज्जति बलिमादिया जणेण पुरेण वा—NC. 2, p. 444
5. NC. 2, p 239, also NC. 2, p. 444.
6. NC. 3, p. 123
7. इंदमहादिएसु समागतेसु बहुसु परतित्थिएसु, सखेत्ते पडिवसभेसु जतंति अंतरपल्लीसु य, तेसु वि असंथरंता गच्छंति—NC 3, p. 124.
8. NC. 4, pp. 226-27.

Sugimhaga (*Sugrīṣmaka*)—While some of the festivals were observed only in certain regions, the *Sugimhaga* is mentioned as a festival which was observed in all the regions.[1] This festival seems to have been observed on the full-moon day of Caitra [2] It has been mentioned in the Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*, but according to him,[3] the festival of Sugrīṣmaka was celebrated on the full-moon day of Phālguna.[4] Abhayatilaka Gaṇi commenting upon the *Dvyāśraya* quotes from the *Bhaviṣyatpurāna* according to which this festival originated during the reign of Raghu to drive away the demoness Dhuṇḍhā who was creating havoc (*upadrava*) amongst the children.[5]

Vasaṁtūsava (*Vasantotsava*)—*Vasaṁtūsava* or spring-festival as the name itself suggests was celebrated during the advent of the spring season. During this festival the kings and nobles amused themselves with wine and women, and special journeys were arranged to the rivers where they played pranks in the water.[6] Worship of Kāmadeva, so frequently mentioned in the text,[7] must have been performed during this festival *Vasantotsava* has been equated with *Phāggu* or *Dolāparva* which was observed in the month of Caitra.[8] The Dhārapraśasti of Arjunavarman also mentions the *Vasantotsava* as *Caitra parva*[9] because of the fact that this festival was celebrated in the month of Caitra.

Besides, *Komutī* or *Komuticāra*,[10] also called as *Komudīmahot-*

1 सुगिम्हगो पुण सव्वत्थ णियमा भवइ—NC. 4, p 233
2. सुगिम्हातो चेत्तपुण्णिमाए—NC. 4, p 226.
3 *Deśīnāmamāla*, VIII 39
4 *Dvyāśraya*, V 141, see also—Majumdar, A. K, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp 306-8.
5 Ibid.
6 वसंताइसु अण्णत्थ ऊसवे विभवेण जा जलकीडा समज्जण—NC 4, p 50
7 NC 1, p 9, NC. 3, p 144.
8 *Deśīnāmamālā*, VI. 82; also Majumdar, op. cit., p. 305
9. EI. VIII, p 96
10 NC 1, p 17, NC. 4, p. 306.

sava in various classical Sanskrit texts, was the festival held in honour of the full-moon.[1] The young girls accompanied by their friends or mothers participated in the festival. The garland-makers brought beautiful flowers and garlands for the festival,[2] which were sold at a high price.[3]

Some of the festivals were observed by a certain section of society or in a particular village or town.[4] *Mallajuddha-maha*[5] was evidently a festival of the wrestlers when the wrestling-contests were arranged. *Bahuraya*[6] is mentioned as a festival celebrated by the Sarakkha ascetics, while the *Bahu milakkhu-maha* is explained as a festival in which a large number of non-Āryan population like the Dravidians participated.[7] Mention has also been made of the *Iṭṭagā-chaṇa*[8] which has been explained as the feast of noodles.[9] According to J. C. Jain, it might correspond to the feast of *Rakṣābandhana* or *Salūno* held in North India.[10]

Jaina Festivals and Fasts

Pajjusaṇa—Jainism being an ascetic religion, most of the Jaina festivals were accompanied with fasts. *Pajjusaṇa* was the most important of the Jaina festivals. According to the ancient tradition, the festival of *Pajjusaṇa* could be held on *puṇṇimā* (full-moon day), *pañcamī* (fifth day), *daśamī* (tenth

1 Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 161
2. कोमुतिचार मालाए सम आगता—NC. 1, p. 17.
3 NC. 4, p 306.
4 NC. 2, p. 242, NC 4, p 233
5. ताहे ··मल्लजुद्धमहे वट्टमाणो—NC 3, p 139.
6. जत्थ महे बहू बहुरया मिलति जहा सरक्खा सो बहुरयो भण्णति—NC. 3, p. 350.
7. अव्वत्तभासिणो बहुगा जत्थ महे मिलति सो बहुमिलक्खू महो, ते य मिलक्खू दक्भमीलादि—NC. 3, p. 350 In the press-copy of the NC prepared by Muni Punyavijayaji the text is ··ते य मिलक्खू दमिडादि ।
8. NC 2, p 419.
9. LAI., p. 239.
10. Ibid

day) or such other *pavva* days,[1] but it was from the time of Ajja Kālaga that the date of the *Pajjusaṇa* was changed from the 5th to the 4th of the bright half of Bhaddavaya (Bhādrapada) at the request of the king Sālivāhana of Paiṭhaṇa (Mahārāṣṭra), as it coincided with the date of the Indra-festival in his region.[2] From this time this festival came to be known as *Samaṇapūyā* among the people of Marahaṭṭha.[3] Even today the *Paryūṣaṇa* among the Jainas begins with the twelfth of the dark half of Bhādrapada and ends with the fifth of the bright half of it.[4]

The object of this festival was to make the person free from sins committed by him during the year; hence an *atthama* fast[5] was necessarily enjoined upon a monk, while the laymen could take recourse to fasting according to their individual capacities. An yearly confession of sins was made on this occasion[6] and old enmities were given up.[7] Example is cited of king Udāyana, a devoted Jaina layman, who made king Pajjoya free from his captivity and restored his kingdom back to him on this day on learning that he also believed in the

1. NC. 3, p. 131.
2. Ibid.
3. ततो पभिति 'मरहट्ठविसए' "समणपूय" त्ति छणो पवत्तो—Ibid.
4. Sangave, V. A., *Jaina Community*, p 247. According to the Digambaras, however, Paryusana lasts every year for ten days from the fifth to the fourteenth day (both days inclusive) of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada—Ibid., p. 246.
5. पज्जोसवणाए—जइ अट्ठम ण करेइ तो चउगुरु—NC. 3, p. 157 The Jaina monks were enjoined to do *aṭṭhama*, *chaṭṭha* and *cauttha* fasts during the *Pajjusana*, *Caummāsiya* and *Pakkhiya* fasts respectively (Ibid). The *Cauttha* meant one fast during which the person took his meals on the fourth turn , the *Chaṭṭha* thus meant two such fasts and the *aṭṭhama*, three fasts.
6. पज्जोसवणासु वरिसिया आलोयणा दायव्वा—NC. 3, p. 157.
7. सव्वं पज्जोसवणाए खामेयव्वं—NC. 3, p. 139 See also—Stevenson, S., 'Festivals and Fasts (Jaina),' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5, pp 875-79.

faith of Jinas.[1] It was from the time of *Pajjusaṇa* that the monsoon retreat started for the monks.

During the *Pajjusaṇa* days the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* was studied by the monks but its reciting aloud during the day time was not allowed to the monks.[2] We are, however, told that in the central Caityagṛha of Ānandapura the *Pajjosavaṇā-kappa* was read out before all the people, it was, however, recited by a *Pāsattha*, as the monks were usually not allowed to recite the same[3] It can be thus deduced that the monks as well as laymen would have tried to spend a greater portion of their time in the temples or Caityas during the days of the *Pajjusaṇa* festival.

Atthāhiya (*Aṣṭānhika*)—Next in importance was *Aṭṭhāhiya*,[4] a festival so named because of the fact that it lasted for a period of eight days. This festival was believed to have been observed even by the gods in their heavenly abode.[5] In the *Paumacariya* of Vimala Sūri the *Aṣṭānhika-parva* (eight days festivity) has been called as *Nandīśvaramahotsava*[6] and the celestial beings can be seen going to Nandīśvaradvīpa to celebrate the *Aṣṭānhika-parva.*[7] The importance of this festival during these centuries is proved by an inscription of Caulukya ministers Tejapāla and Vastupāla, which gives a detailed information regarding the *Aṣṭānhika* festival[8] In this particular case the festival was to start on the third day of the dark half of Caitra and to last for eight days. This festival is

1 NC 3, p 147.
2. NC. 3, p. 157.
3. जहा दिवसतो आणदपुरे मूले चेतियघरे (पज्जोसवणाकप्पं) सव्वजणसमक्खं कड्ढिज्जति, तत्थ वि साहू ण कड्ढेति, पासत्थो कड्ढति—NC. 3, p 158.
4. NC. 3, p. 81; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 5, p. 1539.
5. अण्णया णंदीसरवरदीवे अट्ठाहिमहिमणिमित्तं···देवसंघा मिलंति—NC 3, p. 141.
6. *Paumacariya*, 66 14
7. Ibid., 15. 30. See also—Chandra, K. R., *A Critical Study of Paumacariya* (unpublished thesis), p. 594.
8. EI VIII, p. 200 (Ins. No. 2).

observed thrice a year during the week beginning from the lunar eighth in the month of Kārtika, Phālguna and Āṣāḍha.[1]

Ṇhavaṇapūyā and Rahajattā (*Snānapūjā and Rathayātrā*)—The ceremony of giving bath to the images of the holy Tīrthaṅkaras (*ṇhavaṇa*)[2] and taking them out in procession in cars (*rahajattā*) was observed with great pomp and show. The custom of giving ceremonial bath to the images must have existed among all the sects alike. I-Tsing also believed that "the washing of the holy image is a meritorious deed which leads a meeting with Buddha in every birth."

Rahajattās were also carried out in which the monks as well as the laymen accompanied the procession In certain places *rahajattā* or 'the ceromony of taking out the images of the Arhats in cars' is said to have been performed in the month of Vaiśākha.[3] From the *Mahāvīracarita* of Hemacandra we learn that "Kumārapāla caused the statues of the Arhats to be borne in the procession in cars in every village and town".[4] On its basis Buhler has concluded that "there is no doubt that during the time of orthodox kings the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat were not permitted to exhibit their divine images in public and that Kumārapāla was the first king to grant this privilege to them".[5] But Majumdar has observed: "Seeing the close ties of amity between the two communities from the time of Mūlarāja I, it is difficult to believe that the privilege of taking out a procession was withheld by his predecessors. What is more likely is that Rathayātrā festival was being observed by the Jainas for a long time, but it was Hemacandra and Kumārapāla who understood its efficacy as

1. Sangave, op cit, p 249, Kailashchandra, *Jainadharma*, p. 312.
2. तित्थगरपडिमाणं ण्हवणपूया रहजत्ताइसु कुलाइकज्जेसु वा दूरं पि गओ पुणो ते कुले एति गेहिओ—NC 2, p 137, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, pp 488, 494, 522.
3. तत्थ ण्हवणं रहजत्ता वा वेसाहमासे भविस्सति—NC. 2, p. 334, also *Bṛh. V*, 2, p. 494.
4 *Mahāvīracarita*, verse 76.
5. Buhler, G, *Life of Hemacandrācārya*, p 45.

a means of popularising Jainism and organised it on a national scale'.[1] The evidence provided in the NC. supports the same fact and it is clear that the custom of taking out the images of Arhats was practically carried out during these centuries.

The custom of *rahajattā*, also known as *aṇujāṇa* (*anuyāna*),[2] prevailed among the Jainas even in the time of the Mauryan king Samprati.[3] It is stated that very enthusiastically he (Samprati) participated in this festival, roamed about the whole city with procession along with his servants and officials and also asked the vassal kings to observe the ceremony of *rahajattā* in their respective kingdoms as a sign of his tutelage.[4] It was from the time of Samprati that this custom was made popular in various regions like Āndhra, Tamila, Kudukka and Mahārāṣṭra, and carried down to the later centuries.

Pilgrimage

The ideal of pilgrimage was common to all the religions, although unlike the Brāhmanic version of the word, the Jaina philosophers define *tīrtha* as a place which shows the way to cross the ocean of Saṃsāra.[5]

Visit to the various places related to the life history of the Tīrthankaras was considered to be the means of purifying the vision and acquiring Right Faith in religion (*daṃsana suddhi*).[6] As such all the places where Tīrthankaras were born (*jammaṇa*), where they renounced the world and got initiated into the ascetic life (*nikkhamaṇa*), where they roamed abou

1. Majumdar, A. K, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 321
2. अणुजाण, रहजत्ता—NC 4, p. 131, *Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p 522.
3. NC 4, p 131
4. Ibid
5. Sangave, op. cit, p 270 The Brāhmana practice of taking bath in the *tīrthas* for the purification of sins has been highly criticised by the Jaina philosophers See—*Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, 1026-27; also *Paumacariya*, 22. 85
6. NC. 3, p. 24.

practising great austerities during the days of their spiritual struggle (*vihāra*), where they achieved omniscience (*kevaloppāda*) and the places where they achieved salvation (*nivvāṇa*), were the sacred places of pilgrimage.[1] A similar sentiment is shared by the Buddhists who have the following four places for their pilgrimage—the place of the Buddha's birth (Lumbini), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodhgaya), the place where he set in motion the wheel of Dharma by delivering his first sermon (Sarnath near Varanasi) and the place where he passed away into the state of Nirvāṇa (Kushinara).[2]

Besides, journey to certain places famous for some religious objects like the temple or image was considered to be meritorious. Among such places the *dhamma-cakka* in Uttaravaha, the god-made *thūbha (stūpa)* at Mathura and the image of Jiyamtasāmi at Kosala[3] were regarded as places where the Jainas aspired to go to pay their homage to the deity and purify their mind and intellect (*Bohilābha*).[4]

The famous Brāhmanic *tīrthas* or the places of pilgrimage like Ganges, Payāga, Pahāsa etc. have been mentioned as *kutittha (kutīrtha)*[5] in the NC., which only shows the sectarian spirit of the Jaina author. These *tīrthas* have been highly eulogised by the ancient as well as the medieval Brāhmaṇic authorities and pilgrimage to these places is held in regard even to the present centuries. Among these Brāhmaṇic *tīrthas* (*kutitthas* in the NC.) the following have been mentioned :

1. तित्थकराण य तिलोगपूइयाण जम्मण-णिक्खमण-विहार-केवलुप्पाद-निव्वाणभूमीओ य पेच्छंतो दसणसुद्धिं काहिसि—Ibid.
2. *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, SBE., Vol X, p. 90; Kane, P. V, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. IV, p 552.
3. उत्तरावहे धम्मचक्कं, मधुराए देवणिम्मियथूभो, कोसलाए व जियंतपडिमा तित्थकराण वा जम्मभूमीओ—NC. 3, p. 79.
4. सव्वापुव्वं य चेइए वंदंतो बोहिलाभं निज्जित्तेहिसि—NC. 3, p. 24.
5. NC. 3, p. 195.

Ganges, Pahāsa, Payāga, Avakhaṁḍa, Sirimāya and Keyāra.[1]

Of the above mentioned *titthas*, Ganges, as we know, was held to be the most sacred from ancient times. Here mention of the river Ganges as a *tittha* and not of the specific *titthas* situated on its bank is perhaps due to the fact that the Ganges was considered to be pure at all places. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Kūrma Purāṇa* clearly state that all parts of the Himālayas are holy and the Ganges is holy everywhere;[2] Prabhāsa or Pahāsa, as it has been called in the text (modern Somnath in Junagarh dist., Gujarat),[3] was another famous ancient *tīrtha* which was regarded as *deva-tīrtha* along with Kāśī and Puskara.

Prayāga mentioned as a *kutittha* in the NC. is evidently the same as the Tīrtharāja Prayāga of the Brāhmins situated at the confluence of the three rivers at Allahabad.[4] Yuan Chwang, who visited India during these centuries, also narrates the religious significance of this place.[5]

Avakhaṁḍa is mentioned as another *tīrtha*. This place, however, remains unidentified,[6] the text seems to be corrupt at this place. Sirimāya as mentioned in the text is same as Śrīmāla, also known as Bhinmal or Bhillamāla, the famous capital of the Gurjaras,[7] its religious significance as a *tīrtha*, however, is not known. Keyāra is another *tīrtha* mentioned in the text; it might have been same as Kedāra, a sub-*tīrtha* in Varanasi or Kedāranātha in Tehri Garhwal.[8]

Mention has also been made of the ancient Pukkhara-

1. गंगा आदिग्गहणातो पहास-पयाग-अवखंड-सिरिमाय (ल) केयारादिया एते सव्वे कुतित्था—NC. 2, p. 195.
2. Kane, P. V., loc. cit.
3. GD, p. 157
4. Jain, op. cit., p. 322
5. Beal, op. cit., pp. 232-34.
6. Jain, op. cit., p. 269. In the press copy of the *Nisītha Cūrṇi* prepared by Muni Punyavijayaji the text is to be found as *Avarakanda*.
7. GD., p. 192.
8. Kane, op. cit, p. 768

tittha (Puskara-tīrtha)[1] and Bhamḍīra-tittha of Mathurā.[2] The author gives a Jaina version of the origin of these *tīrthas*. It was believed that while marching against king Udāyana from Vītibhaya to Ujjayinī, king Pajjoya had to pass through desert (*marubhūmi*) where he and his ten vassal kings suffered terribly for three days due to lack of water. At last with the grace of a certain *deva* (Prabhāvatī-deva) it rained heavily, and the rain-water was stored in a *pukkharaṇī* (lake or well) made by the god himself (*devayakaya*). From the word *pukkharanī* the place later came to be known as *Pukkhara-tittha*.[3] According to the Brāhmanic version, however, this place was called Puskara from the lotus (*puskara*) that Brahmā cast here.[4] The Vanaparva states Puskara as the best *tīrtha* in the areal region,[5] it has also been called as *deva-tīrtha*.[6] According to the NC., this *tīrtha* was situated in the Marubhūmi[7] (*marujanapada*); this place which is six miles away from Ajmer has always been famous for pilgrimage.[8]

Pilgrimage to the Bhaṇḍīra-caitya, the abode of the Bhamḍīra-jakkha at Mathura, was also considered meritorious.[9] According to the *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, Mathura was a famous centre of heretics and was also known for pilgrimage to the temple of Bhamdīra-jakkha.[10] Bhamḍīra is mentioned as one amongst the twelve important forests or gardens near Mathurā.[11] According to the *Mahābhārata*, however, the famous Nyagrodha tree of Vrndāvana was known as Bhaṇḍīra.[12]

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1 NC 3, p 146.
2. NC 3, p. 366
3. त च जल देवता-कय-पुक्खरणीतिए रठिय, देवयकयपुक्खरणि त्ति अबुहजणेण "ति पुक्खर" ति तित्थ पवत्तिय—NC. 3 p. 146
4. Kane, op cit , p. 794.
5. *Vanaparva* quoted by *Tīrtha Prakāśa*, p. 19
6 *Tīrtha Prakāśa*, p 18.
7. NC. 3, p. 147
8. Kane, op. cit., p 793.
9. जहा मधुराए भंडीरजत्ताए··· । तम्मि य पदेसे तित्थं पव्वत्तं—NC 3, p. 366.
10. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 281.
11. Kane, op. cit., pp. 690–91.
12. *Mahābhārata*, II. 53. 8.

APPENDIX A

DISEASES MENTIONED IN THE NC.

From the text valuable information about various diseases can be found which is in corroboration with the ancient medical texts. An alphabetical list of the various diseases along with their description as found in the NC. is appended below

(i) *Ajira* (Indigestion) : *Ajira*,[1] also known as *aratita*, was same as indigestion. The person suffering from it was unable to digest any food.[2]

(ii) *Amehā* : Eating impure food or food that has been touched by ants was the cause of the disease *amehā* which led to the 'loss of wisdom'.[3]

(iii) *Arisila, Arisā* or *Asī*, (Piles—Haemorrhoids) : *Arisila*,[4] also known as *arisā* or *asī*, was same as piles or haemorrhoids and it affected the rectum.[5] Oil-anema (*ṇeha-vasti*) was especially prescribed for the patients suffering from this disease.[6]

(iv) *Bhagamdara* (Fistula in Ano) : *Bhagaṁdara* or the disease 'Fistula in Ano' affected the rectum of the body and the pustules attracted small worms or

1. NC 3, p. 258.
2. अरतितो जं ण पच्चति—NC 2, p. 215.
3. मूइगसंसत्ते अमेहा भवति, मेहोवघातो भवतीत्यर्थः —NC. 1, p. 92.
4. NC. 2, p. 90.
5. असी अरिसा ता य अहिट्ठाणे णासाते वणेसु वा भवति—NC. 2, p. 215.
6. NC. 3, p 392

insects.[1] Flesh (*māṁsa*) or rice-floor mixed with *ghṛta* and honey was commonly used for extracting the small insects which clung to the affected portion.[2] According to Suśruta, *bhagandara* was so named as it burst the lower rectum, the perineum, the bladder and the place adjoining them (thus setting up a mutual communication between them).[3]

(v) *Daddu* (Ringworm): *Daddu* was a common skin-disease.[4] It is same as *dadru* or ringworms which usually appear on the skin.

(vi) *Dagodara* (*Dakodara*—Ascites) : *Dagodara,* also known as *jaloyara* (*jalodara*), was considered as one of the eight types of *vyādhis*[5] and is same as ascites. Eating impure food touched by lice or other insects,[6] or wearing wet-clothes,[7] is mentioned as the cause of this disease. According to Suśruta, the person suffering from the disease inordinately enlarges the abdomen which becomes glossy and full of water like a full-bloated water-drum[8].

(vii) *Dāha* or *Dāhajara* (Inflamation or Typhoid fever) : *Dāha* was caused by the derangement of the *pitta* element (*bile*).[9] *Dāha* and *jara* are mentioned as two

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1. भगदर अप्पण्णतो अधिट्ठाणे क्षत किमियजालसंपण्ण—NC 2, p 215, भगंदर. पुतसधौ व्रण.विशेषो—*Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p 1118.
2. पोग्गलं मसं, त गहेऊण भगदले पवेसिज्जति,······असती पोग्गलस्स समिया घेप्पइ,··· सा महुघर्णहिं तुप्पेउ महिउ च भगदले च्छुभति, ते किमिया तत्थ लग्गति—NC. 1, p. 100.
3. ते तु, भगगुदबस्तिप्रदेशदारणाच्च भगन्दरा इत्युच्यन्ते—*Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Nidānasthāna, 4. 3
4. NC 2, pp. 62, 214.
5. *N. Bhā*. 3647; NC. 3, p. 258.
6. छप्पदादिसु यऽन्नादिपडियखद्धासु दगोदर भवति—जलोदरमित्यर्थः—NC 3, p. 161; also NC. 1, p. 93.
7. NC. 3, p. 161.
8. यथा दृतिः क्षुभ्यति कम्पते च शब्दायते चापि दकोदरं तत् ।—*Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Nidānasthāna, 7. 23.
9. पित्तेण वा डाहो अग्गिणा वा—NC. 2, p. 267, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 4, p. 1039.

different diseases but sometimes these are used as a combined term *dāhajara*[1] meaning thereby inflamation accompanied with fever, i. e. typhoid fever.

(viii) *Gaṇḍa* : *Gaṇḍa*[2] was a common term for boils or pustules during their unsuppurated stage.[3] The *gaṇḍa* appearing on feet were known as *mahulā*.[4] Massaging with oil particularly with the *mṛgadantika* oil (lawsonice inermis) was thought to be beneficial in such cases.[5]

(ix) *Gaṇḍamālā* or *gaṇḍī* (Scrofula) : *Gaṇḍamālā* or *gaṇḍī* was same as scrofula or the disease of tubercle glands[6] It was called so as it spread around the neck of the patient.[7]

(x) *Gilāsiṇī* *Gilāsiṇī* is mentioned as a *roga* along with the *gaṇḍamālā*, *slīpada* and *sūṇ'ya*.[8] It may be same as over-appetite.[9]

(xi) *Jaloyara* (See *Dagodara*).

(xii) *Kāsa* (Cough) : *Kāsa* is mentioned as a *vyādhi* or *ātanka* which seriously affected the victim.[10] According to Caraka, *kāsa* is derived from the root *kas* meaning

1 Ibid.

2. NC 2, pp. 90, 214, 215

3 *Gaṇḍa* is called as a type of *piḍaka* in the NC. According to Suśruta (*Nidānasthāna*, 4 3), a pustule was called as *piḍaka* in its unsuppurated stage.

4. पादे गंड महुला भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 90.

5. NC. 2, p. 213.

6. गंडमस्यास्तीति गंडी गंडमालादी—NC. 3, p. 529

7. गच्छती ति गंडं, तं च गंडमाला—NC. 2, p. 215.

8. NC. 3, p. 529; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 322.

9. LAI, p. 180 The word *glāsṇu* used by Pānini (111. 2 139) is explained by Agrawala as one suffering from the debiliating effects of a disease, the convalescent (*India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 123) from which also the word *gilāsiṇī* may be derived.

10. NC. 3, p. 529.

'to move' It caused the movement of phlegm from the respiratory passages.[1]

(xiii) *Kidima* (Keloid Tumerous) : *Kiḍima* was a type of skin disease (*kāyavraṇa*) caused by the internal disorder in skin.[2] Secretion of a type of black viscid matter from the affected portion like the thighs etc. was a normal feature of this disease.[3] Suśruta also describes *kitima* as a kind of *kṣudra-kuṣṭha* (minor leprosy) in which the eruptions exclude a kind of slimy secretion and are circular, thick, excessively itching, glossy and black in colour[4]

(xiv) *Kuttha* (skin-diseases) . *Kuttha* was a general term for all the skin-diseases. *Daddu, kidima, pāmā* and *vikiccikā* have been mentioned as various sub-varieties of *kuttha*[5] *Bhinna-kuttha* was also another type of leprosy.[6]

(xv) *Mamdaggi* (Dyspepsia) : *Mamdaggi* was the disease of dyspepsia. A person suffering from this disease was advised to take salt in order to strengthen the power of the digestive organs.[7]

(xvi) *Padala* : *Padala* was a kind of eye-disease caused by the derangement of the *simbha* (*sleṣma*—cough) element in the body.[8] It covered the layer of the eyes and the person affected by the same was unable to see anything.

1. *Carakasamhitā*, Cikitsâsthâna, 18. 8.
2. इमो तब्भवो तद्दोसो (कायव्वणो) कुट्ठ, किडिम, दद्दू, विकिच्चिका, पामा, गंडातिया य—NC 2, p. 214.
3. किडिभं जघासु कालाभं रसिय बहति—NC 2, p. 62.
4. *Suśrutasamhitā*, Nidânasthâna, V. 9–10.
5. NC. 2, p. 213–14, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p 322 Eighteen kinds of *kuṣṭha* are mentioned in the *Suśrutasamhitā* (*Nidānasthāna*, 5. 4–5) and *Carakasamhitā*, Ch. 7, pp. 2069–73.
6. NC. 2, p. 90.
7. जो मदग्गी तस्सट्ठा वा घेप्पति—NC 1, p 67.
8. सिंभुदयविकारेण य दव्वचक्खिदियस्संतरणं पडलं भण्णति—NC. 3, pp 55–56.

(xvii) *Pāmā* (Eczema) *Pāmā* is mentioned as a type of skin-disease [1] According to Suśruta, it is a kind of minor leprosy in which small pustules or pimples characterised by itching and burning secretion appear on the surface of the body.[2]

(xviii) *Pittiya* (*Paittika*) *Pittiya* diseases were caused by the derangement of the *pitta* element (bile) in the body.[3] Among the various *pittiya* diseases, *timira*[4] (a type of eye-disease), *mūrchā*[5] (fainting) and *dāhajara*[6] (typhoid fever) have been mentioned in the text. For the elimination of this type of diseases use of substances like *padma* and *utpala* (nilumbuim specioscum) was prescribed by the physicians [7]

(xix) *Sannipāta* : *Sannipāta* or *sannivāta* was the disease caused by a simultaneous derangement of the *vāta* (air), *pitta* (bile) and *simbha* (cough).[8] Use of the fruits like *mātulunga* or *bījapūraka* (citrus, medica-var-typica) was recommended for this type of disease.[9]

(xx) *Silippa* (Elephantiases) · *Silippa* is mentioned as one of the sixteen *rogas*[10] or diseases which last for a long

1. NC 2, p 214
2. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Nidānasthāna, V 9–10.
3. NC 3, p 417, NC 4, p. 340.
4. NC. 3, p 55
5. पित्तादिणा मुच्छा—NC. 2, p 267.
6. Ibid.
7. पित्तुदए य पउमुप्पला—NC. 2, p 316, *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p 323. The substances belonging to the class of *padma* and *utpala* have the quality of pacifying the deranged phlegm and bile.—Sharma, Priyavrata, *Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna*, p. 447
8. तिविहो त्ति वाता पित्ता सिंभओ वा तेसिं वा समवायातो सण्णिवातितो भवति—NC. 4, p. 340
9. सण्णिवाए माउलिंग—NC 2, p. 316; *Bṛh. Vṛ*. 2, p. 323. According to Priyavrata Sharma, two varieties of the fruit *mātulunga* are available, one sweet and the other sour. The former is used for the pacification of *pitta* and *vāta*, while the latter for *Simbha* and *vāta*.—Op. cit., pp. 276–77.
10. NC. 3, p 529, श्लीपदनाम्ना रोगेण यस्य पादौ शूनौ—शिलावद् महाप्रमाणौ·· एवंविधिः श्लीपदी—*Bṛh Vṛ*. 2, p. 358.

time. It was same as *slīpada* which is known to us as Elephantiases.

(xxi) *Siṁbhiya—Siṁbhiya* (*Ślaiṣmika*) was the disease caused by the derangement of the *siṁbha* (phlegm) element [1] *Kāsa* (asthma) and *padala* (a type of eye-disease) are mentioned as diseases caused by the same factor.[2] Use of the leaves of the *niṁba* tree (melia azadirachta) was recommended for the cure of the deranged phlegm.[3]

(xxii) *Sūla—Sūla* was a type of colic pain. It is mentioned as an *ātaṁka.*[4] The person affected with this disease could die immediately.

(xxiii) *Sūṇiya—Sūṇiya* was one of the sixteen *rogas.*[5] It is same as swelling.

(xxiv) *Timira*—In this disease deranged *vāyu* (air) covered the layers of the eyes which resulted into the loss of vision.[6] Suśruta also states that in *vātaja* type of *timira* all external objects are viewed as cloudy, moving, crooked and red-coloured.[7]

(xxv) *Vamaṇa* (Vomiting)—Over-eating or eating impure food, in which the flies had fallen,[8] caused the disease *vamaṇa.*

(xxvi) *Vātita—Vātita* or *vātaja* diseases were caused by the derangement of the *vāta* (air) element.[9] The person

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1. NC. 3, p. 417; NC. 4, p. 340.
2. NC 3, p 55
3. सिंभे णिंबपत्ता—NC. 2, p. 316; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p 323 According to Priyavrata Sharma, the *niṁba* pacifies cough and bile (op cit., pp 122–23); hence it must have been used in such diseases
4. NC. 3, p. 529; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 322.
5. NC. 3, p. 529.
6. पित्तुदयविकारेण य दव्वचक्खिवडियस्स सबलीकरण तिमिर भण्णति—NC. 3, p 55. Bāna also mentions the persons suffering from this disease as *taimirika* who were unable in seeing anything—Agrawala, *Kādambari: Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, p. 120.
7. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Uttaratantra, VII 6–7.
8. मच्छियासु संसत्तेसु उव्वढ भवति, वमनमित्यर्थ.—NC. 1, p. 92
9. NC. 3, p. 417; NC. 4, p. 340.

suffering from the *vātaroga* (wind-trouble) was advised to drink clarified butter [1] or take food or sweets like *ghayapuṇṇa*[2] in which the clarified butter was poured in abundance. Use of the products of *eraṇḍa* (ricinus communis) was also prescribed for the elimination of this class of diseases.[3]

(xxvii) *Vikiccikā* (Propriasis)—*Vikiccikā* was a kind of skin disease.[4] Suśruta explains *vicarcikā* as a kind of minor leprosy characterised by excessive pain and itching and giving rise to extremely dry crack like marks on the body.[5]

(xxviii) *Viśūcikā* (Cholera)—Over-eating[6] is mentioned as the possible cause of this disease.

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1. तं घयाइतोसहगण देति जह्वा सेसो वातातिरोगो असेसो फिट्टति—NC. 4, p. 340; वातरोगिणो घृतादिपान—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 557.
2. अवभेयगे वा घयपूरभक्खण—NC. 3, p. 97, *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1005.
3. NC. 2, p. 316, also—*Bṛh. Vṛ.* 2, p. 323. *Eraṇḍa* was meant to pacify the deranged wind and thus helped the limbs in the swift motion.—Sharma, Priyavrata, op cit., pp. 51–53.
4. NC 2, p. 214.
5. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*, Nidānasthāna, V. 9–10.
6. अतिभुत्ते वा विसूतिआ—NC. 2, p. 267; *Bṛh. Vṛ.* 4, p. 1039.

identified with modern Oudh situated about four miles away from Faizabad (GEB., pp. 523 f.; also CAGI., p. 341).

Avakkhaṇḍa (NC. 3, p. 195): It cannot be identified as the text appears to be corrupt. It is mentioned as an unholy place in the NC. along with Gaṁgā, Pahāsa, Payāga, Sirimāya and Keyāra.

Avamtī (NC. 1, pp. 13, 102) · It is identified roughly with modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of Central Provinces (LAI , p. 269). In the NC. it is mentioned as a Janapada with its capital at Ujjeṇī.

Baṁbhaddīva : See under Ābhīra.

Bāravai or *Dāravatī* (NC. I, p. 69) : It is identified with modern Junagadh situated very near the Raivataka hills (LAI., p. 271) or with Dwarka on the sea-shore. According to the NC., it was a great port.

Bhaṁsurulāya (NC. 3, p. 350) . It cannot be identified as the text seems to be corrupt.

Bharukaccha (NC. 2, pp. 415, 439) · It is identified with modern Broach (CAGI., p. 275). It was a centre of trade and commerce and was a big port.

Bhillamāla (NC. 3, p. 111) : It is identified with modern Bhinmal, a town in the Jodhpur division. The text being corrupt at this place, the interpretation of the coinage of this region differs.

Campā (NC 1, p. 20; NC. 2, p. 466, NC. 3, p. 140, NC. 4, pp. 127, 373) . Its actual site is probably two villages Campānagara and Campāpura near Bhagalpur in Bihar (GEB.,p. 6, also LAI., p. 275). It is mentioned in the *N. Bhā.* as one of the ten capitals of ancient India.

Cīṇa (NC. 2, p. 399) : It is said to have comprised the country of Tibet along with the whole range of Himalayan mountains (vide–LAI., p. 360). It was famous for the production of the China-silk.

Dakkhiṇāpaha or Dakkhiṇāvaha (NC. 2, pp. 95, 415, NC. 3, pp. 39, 111, 207, 574, NC. 4, p. 132) : It is identified with the country lying between Narbada in the north and Krishna in the south exclusive of the provinces lying to the east. It is thus almost identi-

APPENDIX B

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THE NC.

Ābhīra (NC. 3, p. 425) : Abhīra was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Kanha and Veṇṇā were the two rivers of this viṣaya between which was situated the island Bambhaddīva.

Akkatthalī (NC. 3, p. 192) : It is identified with Akkatthala, one of the five places mentioned in Mathurā, others being Vīrathala, Paumatthala Kusatthala and Mahāthala (vide—LAI., p. 265).

Āmalakappā (mentioned in *Niśītha Bhāṣya*, see–NC. 4, p. 101) · It is Allakappā of the Buddhist literature (GEB., pp. 24 f.)

Āṇamdapura (NC. 2, pp. 528, 357, NC. 3, pp. 158, 192, 349) : It is identified with modern Vadnagar in Northern Gujarat. According to Yuan Chwang, it is situated 117 miles to the north-west of Valabhī (see–CAGI., p. 416). It was a famous centre of trade.

Aṁdha (NC. 2, p. 362; NC. 4, pp. 125, 131) : It is identified with the country between the rivers Godavari and Krishna including the districts of Krishna (GEB., p. 62). Situated 150 miles to the south of Kośala the province of Āndhra was 500 miles in circuit (CAGI., pp. 444-46) It was a non-Āryan country. Samprati made Amdha, Damila, Kudukka and Mahāraṭṭha approachable to the Jaina monks for their wanderings.

Aṁdhapura (NC. 3, p. 269) : It is identified with the Amdhapura of the Buddhist Jātakas. Situated on the river Telavāha it was the capital of Āndhra (GEB., p. 24; also LAI., p. 266).

Aojjhā or *Aujjhā*, also known as *Sāeta* (NC. 2, p. 466; NC. 3, p. 193) : It is

cal with the country called Maharashtra. It was a great centre of the Jainas during this time.

Damila (NC. 2, pp. 362, 38); NC. 3, p 191; NC. 4, pp. 125, 131) It is identified with Tamil (GEB., p. 63). It is mentioned in the NC. as a non-Āryan country made approachable to the Jaina monks by king Samprati. People of this region followed *Damila livi* for writing purposes.

Daṁtapura (NC. 3, p. 166; NC. 4, p. 36) : It is identified with Damtapura of the Buddhist chronicles, which, as the capital of Kalinga, may with much probability be identified with Raja Mahendri, which is 30 miles to the north-east of Coringa (CAGI., p. 436).

Dasapura (NC. 3, pp. 147, 441) . It is identified with modern Mandsor, a place to the west of Ujjain.

Dīva (NC. 2, p. 95) : An island situated to the south of Saurāṣṭra. It is identified with the island of the Arabs, which is surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth. (Fillip Hittu, *History of the Arabs*, 1931, p. 8, see also—LAI., p. 281).

Gaṁdhāra (NC. 3, p. 144) : It is identified with the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab (GD., pp. 60 f). It is mentioned as a Janapada in the NC.

Giriphulligā (NC. 3, p. 419) The place remains unidentified.

Gollaya (NC. 3, p. 191) : It is identified with Goli, situated on the Gallaru, a tributary of the river Kistna in Guntur district (LAI., p. 286). It is mentioned along with the countries of Marahaṭṭha, Damila, Kuḍukka, Kīraḍuga and Siṁdhu in the NC.

Hatthiṇāpura (NC. 2, p. 466) . It is indentified with an old town in Mawana Tahsil in Meerut (vide-LAI., p. 288). It is mentioned in the *N. Bhāṣya* as one of the ten metropolises of ancient India.

Hemapurisanagara (NC. 3, p. 243) . The place remains unidentified. According to the NC. the festival of Indra was widely celebrated by the people of this place.

Hiṁdugadesa (NC. 3, p. 59) : It is identified with

India which was called *Hiṁdugadesa* by the Persians.

Javaṇa (NC. 4, p. 125) : It is identified with Alexandria near Kabul (GEB., p. 54). It is mentioned as a non-Āryan country in the NC. along with the Saka-visaya.

Kaccha (NC. 1, p. 133) . It is identified with modern Kutch (GD., p. 82).

Kaṁpillapura (NC. 2, pp. 21, 466) : It is identified with modern Kampil in the Farrukhabad district. It was one of the ten ancient capitals of India

Kaṁcanapura (NC. 3, pp. 295, 302). It is identified with modern Bhuvaneshwar (vide—LAI., p. 293).

Kaṁcipurī (NC 2, p. 95) . It is identified with Canjeevaram on the Palar river, which is the capital of Dravida (CAGI.,p. 462). The *rūvaga* of this place was known as *ṇelaka* or *ṇelaa*.

Kāya (NC. 2, p. 399) : It is identified with Kākapura near Bithur or with Kākaṇada near Sāñcī (Law, B. C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 256; LAI , p. 295). It is famous for production of a fine variety of cloth.

Keyāra (NC. 3, p. 195) : It is identified with modern Kedarnath in the district of Garhwal (GD., pp. 975 f.), or with a sub-tīrtha called Keyāra near Varanasi. It is mentioned as an unholy place in the NC.

Khitipatitthiya (NC. 3, p. 150, NC 4, p 229) : Its exact situation is not known. The place is mentioned to have been raided by a Mleccha king during the reign of Jiyasattu.

Kīraduka (NC. 3, p 191) : It might have been the same as Kīra which has been identified with the Kangra district in the Punjab (see—LAI , p. 297). According to the *Pāiya-Sadda-Mahaṇṇava*, Kīra was the common name given to Kashmir.

Kollaira (NC. 3, p. 403) : It is identified with Kullapākapura or Kulpāka near Secunderabad in the Nizam State (LAI , p. 298).

Koṁkaṇa (NC. 1, pp. 52, 100, 101, 145, NC 3, p. 296) : Komkana denotes the whole strip of land between the Western Ghat and the Arabian Sea (see—CAGI., p. 466). Komkana seems to have been

much under the influence of the Jainas.

Kosala (NC. 1, pp. 51-52, 74; NC. 3, pp. 79, 430) : Kosala roughly corresponds to modern Oudh. According to Yuan Chwang, its frontiers were bound by Ujjain on the north, Mahārāstra on the west, Orissa on the east and Āndhra and Kalinga on the south (CAGI , p. 444). It was famous for its Jiyamta Sāmi image.

Kosambāhāra (NC. 2, p. 361) The place remains unidentified.

Kosaṁbī (NC. 2, pp. 466, 125, 128) It is identified with the old village of Kosam on the Jumna about 30 miles south-west of Allahabad (see—CAGI., pp. 330-34).

Kuḍukka (NC. 3, p. 191; NC. 4, p. 131): It is identified with Coorg (Kodagu), a territory in South India (LAI , p. 301; see also—*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 28). It was a non-Āryan country made approachable to the Jaina monks by king Samprati.

Kuṁbhākārakada (NC. 4, p. 127) : Kumbhākārakaḍa is mentioned to have been situated in the Uttarāpatha.

Kuṇāla (NC. 3, p. 368; NC. 4, p. 126) : The Janapada or visaya of Kuṇālā has been identified with Uttara Kosala with its capital as Kuṇālānayarī or Sāvatthī (see—LAI., pp. 303 and 332). Kuṇālā was included among the twenty-five and a half Aryan regions and the Jaina monks were allowed to move upto the Kunālā visaya in the north. Eravatī or Erāvatī was the main river of this region which can be identified with Acirāvatī, the river Tapti in Oudh on which the town of Sāvatthī or Kuṇālānayarī was situated (see—GEB , pp. 35 f.).

Kurukhetta or *Kurukṣetra* (NC. 2, p. 198; NC. 3, pp. 340, 341): It is identified with the country immediately around Thānesara, between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī. (CAGI., p. 279).

Kusumapura (NC. 2, p. 95): See under Pāḍaliputta.

Laṁkā (NC. 2, pp. 104, 105) . It is identified with

Ceylon (GD., p. 113). Hanumāna is described to have reached Laṃkāpurī by crossing the sea with his hands.

Lāṭa or *Lāḍa* (NC. 1, p. 57; NC. 2, pp. 81, 82, 94, 223, NC. 3, pp 39, 59, 596, NC. 4, pp. 132, 226) : It is identified with southern Gujarat including Khānadeśa situated between the river Mahi and the lower Tapti (Bhandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 42). Lāṭa comprised the collectorates of Surat, Broach, Kheda and parts of Baroda districts. A regular commercial contact existed between Lāṭa and Pūrvadeśa. The clothes produced in Pūrvadeśa were available in Lāṭa at a high cost.

The Indramaha was celebrated in the Lāṭa country on the fullmoon-day of Śrāvaṇa.

Marriage with maternal uncle's daughter was allowed in the Lāṭa country.

Magadha or *Magaha* (NC. 3, pp. 193, 523; NC. 4, pp. 124, 126, 158) Magadha roughly corresponds to modern Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar (see—CAGI., pp. 281-83). It is included among twenty-five and a half Āryan countries. The Jaina monks were allowed to move upto Magadha in the east.

Māhaṇakuṇḍaggāma (NC. 3, p. 239) : Kuṇḍaggāma has been identified with modern Basukund, a suburb of ancient Vaiśālī (GD., p. 107). It had two divisions : Khattiya Kuṇḍaggāma and Māhaṇa Kuṇḍaggāma, which were ruled by the Khattiyas and Māhaṇas respectively (see—LAI., pp. 299-97, also p. 307).

Mahissara (NC. 3, p. 569): It is identified with Māhismatī or Maheśa situated on the banks of Narbada, forty miles to the south of Indore (GD., pp. 119, 120). It is a famous centre of cloth-manufacture.

Mahurā or *Mathurā* (NC. 1, p. 8, NC. 2, pp. 125, 357, 466; NC. 3, pp. 79, 152, 366) It is identified with Mohali, five miles to the south of the present town of Mathurā or Muttrā (CAGI., pp. 314-15, LAI., p. 309). It is one of the ten capitals of ancient India, and is famous for its Devanirmita Stūpa.

Pilgrimage to the Bhaṇḍīra-tittha of Mathurā was

also considered auspicious. A regular contact existed between Mathurā and Āṇamdapura.

Mālava (NC. 2, pp. 79, 109, 175 ; NC. 3, pp. 193, 594) It is identified with modern Malwa situated on the south-east of the river Mahī (CAGI., p. 413, GD., p 122). People of Takka, Mālava and Simdhu were known for the harshness of their speech.

Marahotta (NC. 1, p. 52; NC 2, pp. 11, 136, 371, NC. 3, pp 131, 191, NC. 4, pp. 115, 195) · It is identified with the Marāthā country, the country watered by the upper Godavari and lying between that river and the Krishna. At one time it was synonymous with the Deccan (GD., p. 118). It is a non-Āryan country made suitable to the Jaina monks by king Samprati.

Maru (NC. 3, p. 146, NC. 4, p. 109) : Maru janapada or Maru-visaya, also known as Marusthalī, denotes the whole of Rajputana (GD., p. 127).

Mayala or *Malaya* (NC. 3, p. 399). It is identified with the Malabar country including Cochin and Travancore (GD., p. 122). It is famous for producing a fine variety of cloth.

Mihilā (NC. 2, p. 466) . It is identified with modern Janakpur. It is one of the ancient capitals of India.

Pahāsā (NC. 3, p. 195) : It is identified with Somnath in the Junagadh district, Gujarat (GD., p. 157). It is mentioned as an unholy place in the NC.

Patiṭṭhāṇa (NC. 3, p 131) · It is identified with modern Paithan on the southern bank of Godavari in south of Aurangabad (GD., p. 159). At one time it was ruled by king Sayavāhaṇa.

Pārasa (NC. 2, p. 396, NC. 3, p. 59) : It is identified with modern Persia. The Persians were known for wearing the garlands made from the horns of buffaloes.

Pādaliputta (NC. 2, p. 95) . It is identified with modern Patna. Pādaliputtaga rūvaga was regarded as standard money in commercial dealings.

Payāga (NC. 3, p. 195) : It is identified with modern Allahabad at the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna (CAGI., pp. 327-29). It is an unholy place according to the NC.

Pukkhara (NC. 3, p. 145) : It is identified with modern Puskara, six miles away from Ajmer (GD., p. 163).

Pauṁdravardhana · NC. 4, p. 144) It might be same as Pāṇḍya, a country between Jhelam and Ravi (vide–LAI., p. 323).

Purima or *Purī* (NC. 2, 328) : Purī on the western coast is to be identified with Chandapur or Chandor in the present Goa territory or with Gharapuri, the Elephanta island across the Bombay harbour (Virji, K.J., *Ancient History of Saurashtra,* p. 67). It was a famous Jalapattaṇa where the goods were carried by water ways.

Puvvadesa (NC. 2, p. 94; NC. 3, p. 111) : It is identified with the eastern division of India which comprised Assam, Bengal proper, together with the Delta of the Ganges, Sambhalpur, Orissa and Ganjam (CAGI., p. 421). Dīṇāra was the famous gold-coin of Puvvadesa.

Rāyagiha (NC. 1, pp. 9, 17, 20, NC. 4, pp. 101, 109, 126) : It is identified with modern Rajgir (CAGI., p. 394). One of the ten ancient capitals of India it is famous for its hot-water springs.

Roma (NC. 2, p. 399) : It is perhaps same as Ruma which has been identified by H. E. Wilson with Sambhar (vide–LAI., p. 365). It is famous for a fine variety of cloth.

Saga (NC. 4, p. 125) : It is identified with the country of the Śakas in central Asia.

Sāvatthī (NC. 2, p. 466; NC. 4, p. 103) : Sāvatthī, also known as Kuṇālānayarī, is identified with Sahet-Mahet on the bank of the Rapti (CAGI., p. 345).

Siṁdhu (NC. 1, p. 133; NC. 2, pp. 79, 150; NC. 3, pp. 566, 594, NC. 4, p. 90) : According to Yuan Chwang, Siṁdhu comprised the whole valley of the Indus from the Punjab to the sea, including

the Delta and the island of Kutch (CAGI., p. 209).

Sirimāya or *Sirimāla* (NC. 3, p. 195) · It is identified with modern Bhinmal or Bhillamal, fifty miles west of Abu mountain. (GD., p. 192). It is an unholy place according to the NC.

Sopāraya (NC. 4, p. 14) : It is identified with modern Sopara in the Thana district.

Surattha (NC. 1, p. 133; NC. 2, pp. 146, 210, 357, 362, NC. 3, pp. 59, 59, 508) It is identified with the country stretching from Sindh or Indus to Broach, that is Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar (GD., p. 183, also pp. 273-74). It is a non-Āryan country made approachable to the Jaina monks by king Sampratı. Surattha at one time was divided into 69 Maṇḍalas.

Takka (NC. 2, p. 79) . It is identified with Ṭākı of Yuan Chwang, which comprised the whole of the Punjab. Sakala was the old capital of the powerful tribe of the Takkas, whose country was named after themselves as Takkadesa (CAGI., pp. 125-26). See also under Mālava.

Teyālagapattaṇa (NC. I, p. 69) : It is identified with modern Veraval. It was a big port.

Thūṇā (NC. 4, p. 126) : It is identified with modern Thānesar (CAGI., p. 276). The Jaina monks in ancient times were allowed to move upto Thūṇā in the west.

Tosali (NC. 2, p. 399, NC. 4, pp. 43, 62) It is identified with the village Dhauli or the near-by place in the district of Cuttack in Orissa (vide–LAI., p. 344). Tosali was known for the production of the Āya cloth. The region was rich in water resources. A typical custom of Svayamvara among the slaves of Tosali visaya has been referred to.

Turumini (NC. 2, p. 41) : The place is unidentified.

Ujjeṇī (NC. 1, p. 102; NC. 2, p. 261; NC. 3, pp. 59, 131, 145,146, NC. 4, p. 200) : It is identified with modern Ujjain on the bank of river Śiprā (CAGI., p. 412). It was situated eighty Yojanas

away from the Vitibhaya-paṭṭaṇa.

Uttara-Mahurā (NC. 2, pp. 131, 2 9) : Same as Mahurā.

Uttarāpatha or Uttarāvaha (NC 1, pp. 20, 52, 67, 87, 154; NC. 2, pp. 62, 95; NC 3, p. 79, NC. 4, p 27) : It is identified with the districts of Kamsa and Uttara-Madhurā which lay on the northern high-road (GEB., pp. 48 ff.). Uttarāpatha had either extremely cold or extremely hot climate, and it had constant rainfalls. Uttarāpatha was also known for its Dhammacakka.

Vaccha (NC. 4, p. 46) : It is identified with modern territory of Alwar.

Vāṇārasī (NC. 2, pp. 417 466). It is identified with modern Varanasi. It is one of the ten ancient capitals of India.

Vārattapura (NC. 3, p 442; NC. 4, p. 158) The place remains unidentified.

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